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Vol II

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LORD CURZON IN INDIA

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Lord Curzon in India

BEING A SELECTION FROM HIS SPEECHES AS VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

1898–1905

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND AN INDEX

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.

LEGAL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL, 1899-1904

'We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.'

Speech at Calcutta, Feb. 15, 1902.

IN TWO VOLUMES

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DELHI CORONATION DURBAR

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SIMLA

At a meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla, September 5, 1902, the Viceroy delivered the following speech with regard to the Coronation Durbar which it was proposed to hold at Delhi on January 1, 1903 :—

I desire to take advantage of the present occasion to say a few words about the great function, or combination of functions, at Delhi, which will fill so large a part of our attention during the next few months, and which will bring together so immense, and probably unprecedented, a concourse of the Indian peoples at the old Moghul capital in January next. His Majesty the King has already been happily crowned in England; and he is as much already our King and Emperor as he was the day after the death of the late Queen-Empress. No ceremony can increase his titles or add to the legality of his position. Why then, it may be asked, should we have in India a celebration of his coronation at all? Public opinion has, I think, already answered this question to its own satisfaction. But, perhaps, I may also be permitted to contribute a few words to the reply. To the East, there is nothing strange, but something familiar and even sacred, in the practice that brings sovereigns into communion with their people in a ceremony of public solemnity and rejoicing, after they have succeeded to their high estate. Every sovereign of India, or of

parts of India, did it in the old days. Every chief in India—the illustration may even be carried as far as the titled noblemen and zemindars—does it now; and the installation durbar is an accepted and acceptable feature of ceremonial life from one end of the country to the other. If this is so in all the grades of our social hierarchy, how much more important and desirable it is that it should obtain in the highest. I find, for my part, in such a ceremony much more than a mere official recognition of the fact that one monarch has died and another succeeded. To millions of the people in their remote and contracted lives this can make but little difference. But the community of interest between a sovereign and his people—to which such a function testifies, and which it serves to keep alive—is most vital and most important. Society in all ages has sought a head to whom it has been prepared to pay reverence, and kingship is the popular form that has been assumed by this almost universal instinct. But it is in proportion as the superiority thus willingly acknowledged by the subject ceases to be merely official and titular, and as the King becomes the representative as well as the figure-head of his people, that the relationship is of value to both of them. The life and vigour of a nation are summed up before the world in the person of its sovereign. He symbolises its unity, and speaks for it in the gate. Here, in India, it is for the first time under the British Crown that this unity has been attained, and that the entire Continent has acknowledged a single ruler. The political force and the moral grandeur of the nation are indisputably increased by this form of cohesion, and both are raised in the estimation of the world by a demonstration of its reality. There is another point of view from which I regard such a display as having far more than a superficial value. In all our various divisions in this country—divisions of race and class and custom and creed—the one thing that holds us together, and subordinates the things that make for separation to the compelling force of union, is loyalty to a common

head, membership of the same body politic, fellow-citizenship of the same Empire. The more we realise this, the happier will be our individual lives, and the more assured our national destinies. It is, therefore, as an act of supreme public solemnity, demonstrating to ourselves our union and to the world our strength, that I regard the Delhi ceremonial, and certainly as no mere pageant, intended to dazzle the senses for a few hours or days and then to be forgotten. To my mind Lord Lytton, who was the first in British times to inaugurate such an Imperial Durbar as we propose to hold, though in different circumstances and on a smaller scale, set an example characterised both by statesmanship and imagination. I have not a doubt that much good flowed from the Imperial assemblage of January 1, 1877; and, under the blessing of Providence, I firmly believe that similar and even larger results will follow from the ceremony of January 1, 1903.

Of course the occasion would be made both more solemn and more historic if the King-Emperor were able to be present in person and could place the crown of all the Indias upon his own brow. Long ago, when we were first formulating our plans, I ventured to present this aspect of the case to His Majesty. The idea was most agreeable to him, and he would have greatly rejoiced to be able to carry it out. His love for this country has always been great, and I venture to affirm that he is as proud to be the first Emperor of all India as the late Queen Victoria was to be its first Empress. But the duties of State are too absorbing to permit his Majesty to be absent from England for so many weeks as would have been required, and he was compelled to desist from gratifying a wish that would otherwise have had for him the greatest attractions. In these circumstances, the news will be received with delight that His Majesty has deputed his brother, the Duke of Connaught, to represent the Royal Family at the approaching Durbar. The presence of the Duke and Duchess, who have already spent so many happy years in this country,

and who are so universally loved by all classes of the people, will lend to our proceedings a distinction that they would otherwise have lacked, and will bring home more directly to all India the vivid personal interest of the Sovereign. We shall feel that the King is in a certain sense with us in the person of his brother, and that, as it was not in his power either to attend himself, or to depute the Heir-Apparent, whom we all hope to welcome at a later date, His Majesty has taken the best means of testifying to India his profound sympathy and regard.

There is another point of view from which I think that such a gathering as that which will take place at Delhi will be of value. The weak spot of India is what I may call its water-tight compartment system. Each Province, each Native State, is more or less shut off by solid bulkheads even from its neighbour. The spread of railways and the relaxation of social restrictions are tending to break these down. But they are still very strong. Princes who live in the south have rarely, if ever, in their lives seen or visited the States of the north. Perhaps among the latter there are Chiefs who have rarely left their homes. It cannot but be a good thing that they should meet and get to know each other and exchange ideas; and yet no opportunity of meeting on a large scale is possible, unless it be afforded by a State occasion such as this. If we look at the Continent of Europe, we shall see what immense strides have been made in the development of common interests and in the cause of peace since the European rulers have taken to meeting each other on important occasions. Where they used, in the old days, to set their armies in motion upon the slightest breath of suspicion, they now have a talk and exchange toasts at official banquets. Greece did the same thing in ancient times, and in a way peculiar to herself; for it cannot be doubted that the national spirit, which held all those little States together and enabled them to stand up against the greatest military empires of the old world, was largely bred and

nurtured at the Pan-Hellenic gatherings known as the Olympic Games.

Again, in this country I think that it is an equal benefit to the British administrators from different provinces to meet. There is many a man in Madras who has never seen the Punjab, or even in Bombay who is wholly ignorant of Bengal. The Viceroy is almost the only man in India who has the chance of knowing the whole country and of applying the comparative test. People are apt to complain of uniformity in government. I can assure them that the differentiations of system and plan in India are amazing. I am not the person to wish to blot them out; but I do say confidently that an occasion like the Delhi Durbar, when soldiers and civilians from all parts of India will meet, not for a few hours or a day, but for a fortnight, and can compare notes and exchange ideas with each other, will be fraught with incalculable advantage both to the participants and to the administration which they serve.

These appear to me, apart from the act of homage to the Sovereign, to be the principal benefits that will accrue to India as a whole from the Durbar. I have, as is known, endeavoured still further to utilise the opportunity in a practical spirit by arranging for a great Exhibition of Indian Art Manufactures to be held at Delhi at the same time. I confidently assure the public that they will be greatly astonished at the range, the variety, and the beauty of this Exhibition. Whether it is true that the old Indian arts are being killed by European competition—a charge that is frequently brought by those who do not make the smallest effort to keep them alive themselves,—or whether they are perishing from this apathy, or whether India merely provides, as I suspect, an illustration of a world-wide law, the fact remains that the process of extinction has not been carried nearly so far as many suppose, and that the artificers still exist in India, even in these days of commercial ideas and debauched taste, who are capable of satisfying the demand for the artistic and beautiful and

rare, if such a demand there be. I cannot pretend by a single exhibition to create it; but if it already be in existence—as I cannot but think, though perhaps dormant and abashed,—then we may do a good deal by an opportunity such as this to revive and stimulate it; for we shall, I hope, both advertise to the world what we are capable of turning out, and also—which is much more important—encourage the aptitudes and educate the taste of our own people.

And now I wish to say a few words about an even more practical aspect of the case, viz. the charge that will thereby be imposed upon the revenues of India. I have seen statements made about this subject that have startled even my hardened mind. It seems to be quite a popular thing to allege, in certain quarters, that the Durbar is going to cost India at least a crore; while in one responsible organ I read that Lord Curzon was going to throw away upon senseless pomp and show a sum of two millions sterling. Of course, too, our old friend Nero, who is alleged to have fiddled while Rome burned, has often been brought out for my special delectation. Personally, I deprecate the tendency to apply to every act of State, great or small, the sordid test of its actual equivalent in pice, and annas, and rupees. There are some things for which no expenditure can be too great, just as there are others for which none can be too small. But I quite recognise that these abstract considerations will not appeal to everybody, and that there are both seriousness and sincerity in the contention that, desirable and even necessary as the function may be, the public money should not be needlessly squandered upon it. This plea seems to me to be so reasonable that I propose to give to it the answer that it deserves.

It emanates, I think, from two classes of persons—from those who think that no money ought to be spent at Delhi at all while parts of India are suffering from drought or scarcity, and from those who are anxious that, while some money is spent, it should not be too much. I will deal with the first class first.

A few weeks ago it is true that we were in the greatest anxiety and trepidation as to what might be in store for us in Guzerat, in parts of the Deccan, in Ajmer, and in portions of the Central Provinces and the Punjab. But I can truthfully say that the past three weeks have been, on the whole, the happiest that I have spent since I came to India; for, by the merciful and continuous fall of rain in those tracts where it was most needed, we have, I believe, escaped all chance of real or widespread famine in the forthcoming winter, and though here and there we may be confronted with distress, yet nothing in the shape of a national calamity is to be feared. But even supposing that this rain had not fallen, or that I am all wrong in my prognostications now, does any one suppose for a moment that, because we are going to expend a certain number of lakhs of rupees at Delhi, one penny less would have been devoted to the relief and sustenance of the destitute in other parts of India? At the beginning of the famine of 1899, I gave the assurance on behalf of Government that not one rupee would be stinted or spared that could be devoted to the alleviation of distress and the saving of human life. That promise we faithfully fulfilled; and even if famine burst upon us now, or while the Durbar was proceeding, we should not take from the public purse a single anna that would otherwise be consecrated to the service of the poor. They have the first claim upon our consideration; and that claim we should regard it as an obligation of honour to discharge.

Then there is the second class of critics, who recognise that the Durbar must cost something, but are apprehensive lest it should be run on too exorbitant a scale. I am old enough to remember that the same criticism was rife at the time of Lord Lytton's Assemblage in the autumn of 1876. Famine was at that time abroad in the land, and loud were the denunciations, both in the Indian Press and even in Parliament at home, of his alleged extravagance and folly. And yet I have seen calculations made by Lord Lytton which

show that, when all recoveries had been made, the net cost to India of the Delhi Assemblage was only £50,000, and of the entire rejoicings throughout India, Delhi included, £100,000.

In one respect we are in a somewhat different position now. The Assemblage of 1877 was an almost exclusively official Assemblage. I have tried to gather, at the impending Durbar, representatives of all the leading classes of the community from every part of India. I want to make it a celebration, not of officials alone, but of the public. This means that we shall have at Delhi, in the forthcoming winter, larger camps, more guests, and, as a consequence, greater outlay than in 1877. Quite apart from our own arrangements, the improvement in communications and the social progress that have taken place in the last twenty-five years will bring together a much larger concourse of persons. Nearly every one would like to be present; and the number who will actually be present will be very large. All these features will tend to increase the scale of the proceedings.

Notwithstanding these considerations, I desire to assure the public, who have a right to know, that the proposed arrangements are being run on strictly business-like and economical lines. I remember hearing Lord Salisbury, in a speech at the Guildhall before I left England, eulogise our future Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, for his ability to run a campaign on commercial principles. I think that in respect of the Durbar we may lay a similar flattering unction to our souls. The whole of the buildings and structures at Delhi that are being erected for the special purposes of the gathering are being made of materials that will retain their value after their preliminary use, and will be offered for public sale. In many cases recoveries of from 60 to 80 per cent of the initial outlay are thus expected. The tents, and carriages, and horses, which have had to be made or collected in such enormous numbers for the convenience of the visitors, will be similarly disposed of;

and here in many cases I expect that we shall retrieve 100 per cent of the value. The entire electric plant for lighting the camps and the Fort is part of the machinery that has been ordered by the Military Department for instituting the great experiment of ventilating and lighting the barracks in India by electricity. Down to the smallest detail, we are so arranging that the money will not be thrown away, but in some form or other will come back. Then I take another form of recovery. As we all know, railways are, for the most part, Government property in this country; and whether we work them ourselves or through others the whole or a considerable proportion of the profits come into our hands. I think that the critics may be invited to pause and wait to see the traffic receipts of December, January, and February next before they continue their lamentations. I shall be very much surprised if these returns do not put back into the pocket of Government the major portion of what it has spent. There are also the postal and telegraphic services, the profits of which pass into the Government chest, and from which we shall receive largely increased returns. Finally, I would invite those who are so fearful of an unremunerative outlay to open their eyes to what is going on, and has been going on for months past, in all parts of India. I assert that hundreds of thousands of Indian workmen and artisans are receiving full employment and good wages in preparing for this Durbar. Go to the cotton-mills of Cawnpore and Jubbulpore and Lahore, where the tents are made; to the factories, where the harness and saddlery are turned out; to the carriage-builders, where the landaus and victorias are being built by the hundred; to the carpet-factories, where the durries and rugs are being woven; to the furniture-makers, where the camp equipage is manufactured. Go to every Native State, where the *durzis* and embroiderers will be found working double time. Go to any town or even village in India where a native art industry exists, and has perhaps hitherto languished, but where you will find the copper-

smiths and silversmiths, the carvers in wood and ivory and stone, the enamellers and painters and lacquerers, hard at work. Go to all these places, and then form an opinion as to the effect upon Indian labour of the Delhi Durbar. Supposing we were to follow the advice of some of our friends and to issue a proclamation suspending the entire proceedings to-morrow, I predict that a cry of protest and of appeal would be heard from one end of the country to the other, and that, without benefiting a single individual, we should deprive the Indian artisan of one of the greatest opportunities that he has enjoyed for generations, and inflict upon him a cruel and senseless injury.

I have thus argued that a large portion of the expenditure to be incurred at Delhi will be nominal only, and that we shall take back or give back to India with one hand what we expend with the other. Let me deal with the actual figures. In the Budget of last March we provided for an outlay of 26½ lakhs upon the Durbar. This is the sum that, in the fertile imagination of some writers, has been magnified to 1 crore, and even to 2 millions sterling. I do not include in this outlay the sum of 4 lakhs which have been devoted to the Arts Exhibition, because I do not suppose that any one will be found to argue that that is an expenditure of public money upon the Coronation. The greater part of it will be recovered, and in any year, Coronation or otherwise, it would have been a prudent and remunerative expenditure of the public money. Neither do I take the 8½ lakhs provided for the troops. For we should not, of course, have expended that sum in bringing so large a number of troops to Delhi for the Durbar alone. It is being expended, in the main, upon the great military manœuvres that are an inseparable feature of modern military training, and that will take place during the month preceding the Durbar, in the same way as the manœuvres held by Lord Dufferin in the same neighbourhood, independently either of Durbar or of Coronation, in the year 1886. There remain, then, the

26½ lakhs, supplemented by such local expenditure as may be imposed upon local Governments by their preparations; and of the total sum, as I have pointed out, the greater part will most certainly be reimbursed. The actual net cost of the proceedings at Delhi it is of course impossible at this date to calculate or forecast, but I hope I have said enough to show that it will be almost immeasurably less than the dimensions which a too tropical imagination has allowed it to assume, and that a great State ceremonial will never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines.[1]

I cannot help thinking that the sensitiveness about expenditure here, which I hope that I may have succeeded in allaying, has been to some extent fomented by the impression that prevailed, till a little while ago, that India might also be called upon to pay for a portion of the entertainment of the Indian visitors and military contingent who recently proceeded to England to take part in the Coronation festivities there. This was a subject upon which the Government of India placed themselves some time ago in communication with the Home Government; and, as a sequel to this exchange of opinion, it was with pleasure that we heard that the Secretary of State had persuaded the Imperial Exchequer to assume the entire cost of all charges that had been incurred in England in connection with the Indian visitors. These include the entertainment of the Indian chiefs and representatives, and of the contingent representing the Army and Volunteers, as well as the entire cost of the India Office ceremony. The principle that each country should pay for its own guests is, in my opinion, incontestably right; and it will, I hope, be accepted and acted upon in the future.

I have now said enough, I hope, to show that neither is Rome burning—on the contrary, I believe that she stands on the threshold of an era of great prosperity,—nor, most certainly, is Nero fiddling. I do not indulge

[1] *Vide* p. 20. When the figures were finally made up in 1904 it was found that the total charge amounted to a little over £200,000.

much in prophecy in India, and I cannot say what unforeseen vicissitudes, internal or external, may lie in store for us; but, humanly speaking, we need not anticipate anything that is likely, during the few months that intervene between now and January next, to prevent us from joining in the Delhi gathering with clear consciences and joyous hearts. It only now remains for us to endeavour to make our celebration in India not less successful than that which has just been carried through in England. A good many eyes in a good many parts of the globe will be directed upon Delhi in January next; and we shall have an opportunity, not merely of testifying the enthusiastic loyalty of India to the King-Emperor, in the presence of his brother, but also of demonstrating to the world that India is not sunk in torpor or stagnation, but is alive with an ever-expanding force and energy. That all India should approach these ceremonies with one heart and mind and voice is my most earnest prayer; and that those who cannot take part in them at Delhi should hold similar rejoicings and be similarly entertained in the neighbourhood of their own homes, it is our hope and desire to arrange.

There is one small matter, personal to myself, which I may perhaps be allowed to mention before I conclude, because it also has a wider bearing. I have seen it assumed in many quarters that, as soon as the Durbar is over, and this anxiety has been removed, I am likely to resign my office and to flit away to England, in the pursuit of personal or political ambitions there. Indeed, I scarcely know how many times during the past two years similar stories have been flying about. Both the authors of these rumours and those who give credit to them do me an unconscious injustice in assuming that I could think of taking my hand off the plough before the end of the furrow is in sight. Not once since I have been in India has any such idea entered my mind. Barring contingencies which cannot be foreseen, I have no intention whatever of so acting. Much of the work to which my colleagues and myself have set our hands

is still incomplete. So long as I receive from them an assistance which has never swerved or abated, and so long as health and strength are given to me to pursue the task, I should regard it as an abnegation of duty to lay it down. Whether the work be worth doing for the sake of the country, it is not for me to say. But I may be permitted to add that to me, at any rate, it appeals as the highest and most sacred of trusts.

THE DURBAR

At half-past twelve o'clock on Thursday, January 1, 1903, the Viceroy, by command of the King-Emperor, held a Durbar at Delhi for the purpose of proclaiming the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII. Emperor of India.

The number of spectators present in the arena was over 16,000, and included their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the Grand Duke of Hesse, all the officials of the highest rank in India, and the principal Ruling Chiefs, one hundred in number, with their retinues. It was the largest and most brilliant assemblage of the kind ever witnessed in India; and for the splendour of its surroundings, and the impressiveness which marked the proceedings throughout, it was unequalled in the history of similar ceremonies. The Durbar was held in a specially constructed amphitheatre three miles beyond the Ridge at Delhi, the route from the Viceroy's Camp to it being closely lined with troops. On the plain opposite to the entrance to the amphitheatre, whence they could be seen by the spectators, were drawn up over 40,000 troops; massed bands in the centre of the arena performed selections of music at intervals during the ceremony. After the herald had read the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India, the Viceroy addressed the Durbar as follows:—

Your Royal Highnesses, Princes, and Peoples of India,—Five months ago in London His Majesty King Edward VII., King of England and Emperor of India, was invested with the crown and sceptre of the English kings. Only a few representatives of the Indian

Empire had the good fortune to be present at that ceremony. To-day His Majesty has by his royal favour afforded an opportunity to all his Indian people to take part in similar rejoicings, and here, and elsewhere throughout India, are gathered together in honour of the event the Princes and Chiefs and nobles, who are the pillars of his throne; the European and Indian officials, who conduct his administration with an integrity and devotion to duty beyond compare; the Army, British and native, which with such pre-eminent bravery defends his frontiers and fights his wars; and the vast body of the loyal inhabitants of India of all races, who, amid a thousand varieties of circumstance and feeling and custom, are united in their spontaneous allegiance to the Imperial Crown. It was with the special object of thus solemnising his Coronation in India that His Majesty commanded me, as his Viceroy, to convene this great Durbar, and it is to signify the supreme value that he attaches to the occasion that he has honoured us by deputing his own brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to join in this celebration.

It is twenty-six years since, on the anniversary of this day, in this city of Imperial memories and traditions, and on this very spot, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the first Empress of India. That act was a vindication of her profound interest in her Indian subjects, and of the accomplished unity of her Indian dominions under the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, a quarter of a century later, that Empire is not less but more united. The Sovereign to whom we are met to render homage is not less dear to his Indian people, for they have seen his features and heard his voice. He has succeeded to a throne not only the most illustrious but the most stable in the world; and ill-informed would be the critic who would deny that not the least of the bases of its security—nay, I think a principal condition of its strength—is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people. Rich in her ancient traditions, India is

also rich in the loyalty which has been kindled anew in her by the West. Amid the crowd of noble suitors who, through all the centuries, have sought her hand, she has given it only to the one who has also gained her trust.

Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day. I do not speak of this great and imposing assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population amounts to 60,000,000 of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men, whose pride it is that they are the King's army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouthpieces of a community of over 230,000,000 souls. In spirit therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. All are animated by a single feeling, and all bow before a single throne. And should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. It is not merely the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and the declaration of a belief. For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges; to others it opens ever-

widening avenues of honourable employment; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all.

Such are the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar. It is now my duty to read to you the gracious message which His Majesty has desired me to convey to his Indian people:—

"It gives me much pleasure to send a message of greeting to my Indian people, on the solemn occasion when they are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian princes and representatives were able to be present at the Ceremony which took place in London; and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and peoples, and to the officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Even since my visit to India in 1875 I have regarded that country and its peoples with deep affection; and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion to my House and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me; and my Indian troops have rendered conspicuous services in the wars and victories of my Empire.

"I confidently hope that my beloved son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India and the country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself had this been found possible.

I have, however, sent my dear brother, the Duke of Connaught, who is already so well known in India, in order that my Family may be represented at the Ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

"My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered mother, the late Queen Victoria, the first Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the some principles of humane and equitable administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian subjects. To all my feudatories and subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire and the greater happiness of its people."

Princes and peoples of India, these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and good-will to all. To those of us who, like my colleagues and myself, are the direct instruments of His Majesty's Government, they suggest the spirit that should guide our conduct and infuse our administration. Never was there a time when we were more desirous that that administration should be characterised by generosity and lenience. Those who have suffered much deserve much; and those who have wrought well deserve well. The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. It is difficult to give to them more than they already enjoy, and impossible to add to a security whose inviolability is beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it has

been a pleasure to us to propose that Government shall cease to exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans that have been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine; and we hope that this benefaction may be acceptable to those to whom it is offered. Other and more numerous classes there are in this great country to whom we would gladly extend and to whom we hope before long to be in a position to announce relief. In the midst of a financial year it is not always expedient to make announcements, or easy to frame calculations. If, however, the present conditions continue, and if, as we have good reason to believe, we have entered upon a period of prosperity in Indian finance, then I trust that these early years of His Majesty's reign may not pass by without the Government of India being able to demonstrate their feelings of sympathy and regard for the Indian population by measures of financial relief, which their patient and loyal conduct in years of depression and distress renders it especially gratifying to me to contemplate. I need not now refer to other acts of consideration or favour which we have associated with the present occasion, since they are recorded elsewhere. But it is my privilege to make the announcement to the officers of the Army that henceforward the name of the Indian Staff Corps will cease to exist, and that they will belong to the single and homogeneous Indian Army of the King.

Princes and peoples, if we turn our gaze for a moment to the future, a great development appears with little doubt to lie before this country. There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. If the combined arms of Great Britain and India can secure continued peace upon our borders, if unity prevails within them, between Princes and people, between European and Indian, and between rulers

and ruled, and if the seasons fail not in their bounty, then nothing can arrest the march of progress. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent, but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country, and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the Paramount Power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained than that of the British Crown.

And now I will bring these remarks to a close. It is my earnest hope that this great assemblage may long be remembered by the peoples of India as having brought them into contact at a moment of great solemnity with the personality and the sentiments of their Sovereign. I hope that its memories will be those of happiness and rejoicing, and that the reign of King Edward VII., so auspiciously begun, will live in the annals of India and in the hearts of its people. We pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, his sovereignty and power may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominion may endure for ever.

Long live the King, Emperor of India!

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

These remarks lead me by a natural transition to say something about the Durbar itself. And first I must devote a few words to the cost. As I said in my speech

in September last—though this is not the test which I would dream of applying myself as the final or crucial touchstone to a ceremony which I at any rate regard as having had a profound political significance, and an almost immeasurable political effect, yet I have no right to object to its being applied by others, and I realise that even symbolism presents itself to many minds in terms of rupees and pies. If, however, we apply this standard, then I do not hesitate to claim an absolute vindication for all that I said last autumn. I remarked then that of the 26½ lakhs estimated for Imperial expenditure we should recover the greater part, and I added that a great State ceremonial would never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines. These prophecies were not universally accepted at the time, but they have turned out to be scrupulously correct. And indeed they overestimated, rather than understated, the actual outlay. The net charge against Imperial revenues for the entire Durbar works out at little more than 12½ lakhs or £84,000. If to this we add the expenses incurred by local Governments for their provincial camps, over which, from the circumstances of the case, the Government of India could exercise little control, and which amounted to a net total of a little over 14¾ lakhs or £99,000, we get a net charge, Imperial and provincial, of about £180,000 for the Durbar.[1] Is there any one who will tell me that this is an excessive charge upon a population of over 230 millions in British India, exclusive of the Native States, for celebrating the Coronation of their Sovereign? In Great Britain with a population of 41 millions of people, they voted, I believe, £100,000 for a similar purpose, or a charge of less than ½d. per head of the people. They also spent £70,000 in entertaining the representatives who came from India to attend the ceremony. In India we have spent £180,000 with a population of nearly 300 millions in all, or about ⅙th of

[1] When all the accounts had come in, this was raised, as has been said, to a little over £200,000.

a penny per head of the entire community. Is this too heavy a price for the people to pay for the Coronation of their Emperor? Has a similar sum never been spent upon an Indian marriage or upon an Indian accession? Why, the sum is only about one-seventh part of the relief which we are going to give, not once, but in each succeeding year, to the Indian people by our relief of taxation. Each one of them paid in January a great deal less than a farthing for the Coronation of his Emperor; but he goes away in March with nearly eight times that sum in his pocket per annum. Spread over such enormous masses, the bounty may, in individual cases, seem small, but the recipient, I am sure, would be the first to recognise the degree to which he has gained; and I expect, if we could consult him, that he would at once respond by a request to have a Durbar every year, if only it was likely to be attended with similar results. There are, I know, some who say that this is all very well, but that we must look at what the Durbar cost the Princes and their people. Well, I do not know what it cost them, nor does anybody else, though I have seen a good many extravagant and random calculations. But I do know that these sums were voluntarily spent, that they were all spent in the country, that they diffused employment and radiated contentment far and wide, and that it would be impossible to get up a protest or a petition against them in a single Native State or in any part of the Indian Continent.

But I would ask whether we may not leave this somewhat sordid field of controversy, and pause for a moment to inquire what was the effect of the Durbar itself. I have deprecated the financial criterion. Here let me deprecate the ceremonial criterion also. I have read a great deal since January about pomp and pageantry, and the idea of some persons seems to be that the Durbar was intended only to show the magnificence of the Empire and the trappings of the East. How strangely we often misread each other in the

world. I suppose that reams of paper and gallons of ink have been expended upon the delineation of the splendours of the Durbar. May I make a confession? I have never read these accounts without a positive pang; for all the while I have been thinking about something else. I hope I am not a rhapsodist or a dreamer; but to me, and I hope to the majority of us, the Durbar meant not a panorama or a procession; it was a landmark in the history of the people, and a chapter in the ritual of the State. What was it intended for? It was meant to remind all the Princes and peoples of the Asiatic Empire of the British Crown that they had passed under the dominion of a new and single Sovereign, to enable them to solemnise that great and momentous event and to receive the Royal assurance and greeting. And what was its effect? They learned that under that benign influence they were one; that they were not scattered atoms in a heterogeneous and cumbersome mass, but co-ordinate units in a harmonious and majestic whole. The scales of isolation and prejudice and distrust fell from their eyes, and, from the Arab sheikhs of Aden on the west to the Shan chiefs of the Mekong on the borders of China, they felt the thrill of a common loyalty and the inspiration of a single aim. Was there nothing in this? Is it nothing that the Sovereign at his Coronation should exchange pledges with his assembled lieges—of protection and respect on the one side, of spontaneous allegiance on the other? Is it nothing that the citizens of the Empire should learn what that Empire means? Even if we take the rest of India, which could not be present at Delhi, but held its own rejoicings in its own place, is it nothing to lift an entire people for a little space out of the rut of their narrow and parochial lives, and to let them catch a glimpse of a higher ideal, an appreciation of the hidden laws that regulate the march of nations and the destinies of men? I believe that the Durbar, more than any event in modern history, showed to the Indian people the path which, under the guidance of Provi-

dence, they are treading, taught the Indian Empire its unity, and impressed the world with its moral as well as material force. It will not be forgotten. The sound of the trumpets has already died away; the captains and the kings have departed; but the effect produced by this overwhelming display of unity and patriotism is still alive and will not perish. Everywhere it is known that upon the throne of the East is seated a power that has made of the sentiments, the aspirations, and the interests of 300 millions of Asiatics a living thing, and the units in that great aggregation have learned that in their corporation lies their strength. As a disinterested spectator of the Durbar remarked, Not until to-day did I realise that the destinies of the East still lie, as they always have done, in the hollow of India's hand. I think, too, that the Durbar taught the lesson not only of power but of duty. There was not an officer of Government there present, there was not a Ruling Prince nor a thoughtful spectator, who must not at one moment or other have felt that participation in so great a conception carried with it responsibility as well as pride, and that he owed something in return for whatever of dignity or security or opportunity the Empire had given to him.

EDUCATION

MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE AT TREVANDRUM (TRAVANCORE)

In the course of his visit to the Native State of Travancore in November 1900, the Viceroy visited the Maharaja's College at Trevandrum, and addressed the students as follows:—

I am sure that we have all heard with the utmost pleasure the announcement that has just been made by the Dewan of the gracious and liberal manner in which His Highness desires to commemorate my visit to this place. It is very characteristic of the enlightenment and generosity of His Highness, and the opening which will thus be afforded to the accomplishments and abilities of the young men who have studied in this College, even though it does not serve to remind them in the future of the occasion of the foundation of the prize, will at any rate be a valuable incentive to their own studies.

Nothing gives me greater pleasure in my tours through India than to visit those institutions where the young men are being educated who in the next generation will have the fortunes of the country to so large an extent in their hands. Whether the College be one that is training up young Chiefs and nobles who will one day be called upon to manage estates or to govern peoples, or whether it is qualifying young men, who, although not of such exalted birth, will yet supply the officials and administrators and public servants of the

future, the spectacle is equally interesting and equally inspiring. When we are at school or college ourselves we hardly appreciate what a work is going on among us. We are absorbed in the friendly rivalry of passing examinations, or winning prizes, or excelling in games. Our horizon seems somewhat limited because it is so full. But all the while every minute of the time that we spend in the school or the college is leaving its mark on our character. We are being influenced from day to day by the boys we associate with, by the masters who teach us, by the books that we read, by the half-unconscious effect of our surroundings; and, almost before we have realised it, we are turned out into the world with a stamp fixed upon us which remains with us for life, and models all our conduct and actions, much as the face of a monarch is minted for all time upon the surface of a coin. I think it is a good thing therefore, now and then, for boys and young men while at school to pause, and to question themselves as to the die that is being stamped upon them, and as to the sort of currency, whether of gold or silver or copper, or some less pure alloy, of which they are going to be turned out.

Pupils of this College, if there is one word of advice that I might offer to you, it would be this: Do not all fall into the same mould. Do not passively accept the same metal. Take as a stimulus to your imaginations the singular variety and interest of the State to which you belong. I do not suppose that in the whole of India there is a State with greater fertility of resources, with more picturesque surroundings, with ampler opportunities for work, with richer prospects of development. It is also a very patriotic State. Every good Travancorean thinks that there is no place like Travancore, no college like the Trevandrum College, no prince like His Highness the Maharaja. With this fund of patriotism to start with, which should supply you with the initial impetus, I say: Look about you while you are still young, test your own aptitudes, and make up your

mind as to the manner in which, when your academic education is over, you are going to serve the State. Do not follow each other like a flock of sheep, who always go through the same hole in a hedge. The hedge of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places, and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture.

Think therefore of the number of openings that lie before you in this interesting country. I believe that there is scarcely a single branch of scientific or technical education which is not capable of practical and remunerative pursuit in Travancore. There are minerals to be unearthed; there is an abundant water-supply capable of being converted into different forms of energy and productiveness; there is an infinite richness of plants and timbers and trees; there are manifold varieties of animals and birds and insects; there are all sorts of experiments that might be made in agriculture; there are numerous openings for public works; there is ample scope both for the student who prefers the laboratory, and for the out-of-door explorer or engineer.

In all these pursuits I am sure that you will meet with the warmest encouragement from the European professors of this College, and not less from His Highness the Maharaja himself. The Maharajas of Travancore have always been distinguished for their patronage of learning. His Highness takes the keenest interest in the welfare of this College; and I have heard with pleasure, with reference to one of the fields of study that I mentioned just now, viz. that of Scientific Forestry, that he is sending four pupils to study in the Forest School of the Government of India at Deh a Dun.

Let me urge you, therefore, students of this College, to remember that your patriotism, which is an excellent thing, should not stop at thinking or saying that there is no such place as Travancore—otherwise it would be

a rather cheap and tawdry sentiment,—but should proceed to the discovery of independent channels by which you may each of you render service to the State. You have a great many advantages offered to you in this institution. You have admirable tuition. You have, I believe, the second best library in the whole of the South of India. You have a generous and paternal Government. You are, in fact, a very highly favoured and rather a spoiled body of young men. For all this you owe some return. Take, therefore, a line for yourselves; get out of the rut; the whole of life is not summed up in the office or in the law courts; remember that while the opportunities for a career can be, and are, here provided for you by others, the career itself will be what the individual makes it; and let the ambition of each one of you be to say, when his time is nearing its end, that, whether in a small way or in a great, he has rendered an appreciable service to his native country.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, SIMLA

In September 1901 the Viceroy convened an Educational Conference at Simla, to discuss the various reformatory measures that were required in every branch of Indian education. There were present the leading members of the Government, the Directors of Public Instruction from every province in India, and representatives of the principal Colleges. The Conference, which was presided over by the Viceroy, sat every day for a fortnight, and passed a series of resolutions which were the basis of the reforms that were carried out during the ensuing four years. Lord Curzon indicated their nature in his opening address, which was as follows:—

I have invited you here to assist me with your advice in the inquiry upon which the Government is engaged with reference to the existing system of education in India. In any scrutiny of this system it is, I think,

desirable that we should consider it from every point of view, in its broader and more important as well as in its narrower aspects. If we are to embark upon reform, it will be well that our eyes should range in advance over the entire arena, that we should co-ordinate the various departments of educational effort, and should deal with them as parts of a systematised whole. In this way we may best succeed in observing proportion in our treatment of the matter and fidelity to the guiding principles upon which it is our desire to proceed. I shall therefore ask your attention successively to the following sub-headings of our main subject—University Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Technical Education, and, finally, to such general questions as remain over from our detailed inquiries. I will indicate to you presently what is the nature of the problems to which I think that we should endeavour to find a solution in each of the categories to which I have referred.

But, before doing this, I should like to say a few prefatory words as to the character and scope of the present Conference. We are a small number of persons collected round this table. Had I accepted one-half of the offers and suggestions that have been made to me, this room, large as it is, would not have held the numerous authorities who courteously volunteered their services. They did so, I think, in the belief that this gathering is more than it pretends to be. We are not met here to devise a brand-new plan of educational reform, which is to spring fully armed from the head of the Home Department, and to be imposed *nolens volens* upon the Indian public. The Conference is merely a gathering of the highest educational officers of Government, as well as of the official representatives of our leading Universities, whom I desire to consult upon many matters concerning which we at head-quarters are lacking in first-hand knowledge, but to which, on the other hand, they have devoted many years of their lives. They will give us information which the Government does not possess, and will pre-

vent us from committing mistakes into which we might otherwise fall.

But I do not expect our meetings, informal and confidential as they will be, to take the place of that examination of the subject and of our ideas upon it, by the educated sections of the outside public, which I think that they are quite entitled to offer, and which I, for my part, shall be grateful to receive. The question of Education in India is one that concerns not only the Viceroy or his Council, or the persons who are engaged, officially or otherwise, in administering the present system. It is the concern of every educated man in the country—aye, and also of the uneducated millions whom we hope to draw gradually within its range. Their interest in the matter is as great as ours; for, while in it is involved our responsibility, upon it hangs their future. Do not let any one suppose, therefore, that we are going to launch any vast or sudden surprise upon the Indian community without hearing what they think or what they may have to say. Concealment has been no part of my policy since I have been in India; and the education of the people is assuredly the last subject to which I should think of applying any such canon. It is for this reason that I have decided to address you, as I am now doing, not merely in order to indicate to the members of this Conference the subjects which we are about to examine, but also to take the outside public, so to speak, into our confidence, in order that they may know the nature of the difficult problem that we are studying, and may help us with their disinterested opinions upon it.

Before such an audience as this I need not enter into any critical examination of the steps by which education in India has reached its present stage. They may be summed up in the broad general statement that we have been occupied for seventy years in imparting an English education to an Asiatic people. I do not mean to imply that before this epoch commenced there was no education in the country. Education there was; but it was narrow

in its range, exclusive and spasmodic in its application, religious rather than secular, theoretical rather than utilitarian, in character. Above all, it wholly lacked any scientific organisation, and it was confined to a single sex. The landmarks of the reaction against this old system, which may now be said to have disappeared, and of the gradual and successful installation of its successor, have been Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835, the Despatch of the Court of Directors of July 1854, the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-83, and a series of Resolutions of the Government of India, the last of which was that issued by the present Administration in October 1899. In these may be traced the record of the struggles, the ambitions, the achievements, the errors, the hopes, of English education in India. We have now reached a stage at which it is possible for us at the opening of a new century to pass them in review, and incumbent upon us to determine in what manner we are to proceed in the future.

There exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide its conviction that the experiment was a mistake, and that its result has been disaster. When Erasmus was reproached with having laid the egg from which came forth the Reformation, "Yes," he replied; "but I laid a hen's egg, and Luther has hatched a fighting cock." This, I believe, is pretty much the view of a good many of the critics of English education in India. They think that it has given birth to a tone of mind and to a type of character that is ill-regulated, averse from discipline, discontented, and in some cases actually disloyal. I have always severed myself from these pessimists, and I do so again now. I have no sympathy with those who mope and moan over that which has been the handiwork of our own hands. Let us take it with its good and its evil. To me it seems that there is no comparison between the two. Mistakes and blunders there have been, otherwise we should not have met here to-day in order to discuss how we may set them right. But the successes have been immeasurably greater.

Crude and visionary ideas, and half-educated and shallow products, of education, are far too plentiful; but I firmly believe that by the work of the past three-quarters of a century the moral and intellectual standard of the community has been raised, and I should be ashamed of my country if I did not think that we were capable of raising it still higher.

I have made this disclaimer of views to which expression is given in so many quarters, because it will be my duty to-day to call your attention to the weak points of the system, rather than to its merits; and because it might otherwise be thought that I had joined the band of carpers myself, and wanted to disparage and pull down, where my whole object is to reconstruct and build up. This, however, we cannot do until we realise where we have gone wrong and allowed unsoundness to enter in.

Some of these errors are very much on the surface. We started by a too slavish imitation of English models, and to this day we have never purged ourselves of the taint. For instance, we thought that we could provide India with all that it required in the shape of University education by simply copying the London University. In later times we have tried bodily to transplant smaller educational flora from the hothouses of Europe. Then we opined that it was enough to teach English to Indian children before they had even mastered their native tongues. Further, we assumed that because certain subjects were adapted to the Western intellect they could be equally assimilated by the Eastern, and that because they were communicated in certain formulæ and a recognised terminology to English boys these would be equally intelligible to Indians. Finally, by making education the sole avenue to employment in the service of the State, we unconsciously made examination the sole test of education. Upon this point I must enlarge somewhat, seeing that it is at the root of the evil which we are convened to examine.

The late Dr. Thring, who was one of the greatest

educationalists that England has produced, once remarked that education is the transmission of life from the living through the living to the living. I am afraid that in India we have fallen somewhat from this ideal. The secret of life has been in our hands, and we have not stinted its outpouring; but about the instruments, the form, the methods, and the recipients of the gift we have been not too particular. Examinations are being carried to extremes in most civilised countries, and cramming, which is their inevitable corollary, is now generally recognised as a universal danger. But in India we appear to have pushed the method to an excess greater than I have come across in any country, with the exception of China. We examine our boys from childhood to adolescence, and we put a pass before them as the *summum bonum* of life. When I contemplate the thousands of youths in our Indian schools and colleges, steadily grinding away in order to get their percentage of marks in an endless series of examinations, the spectacle does not seem to me less open to lament than that of the monks whom one sees in Tibet, and who by a never-ending mechanical revolution of the prayer-wheel, accompanied by the repetition of sounds which convey little meaning even to the suppliant, think that they are compassing eternal salvation. I am not speaking of the results of the examination system so much as I am of its effect upon its victims. That is the real issue. It is of no use to turn out respectable clerks or munsifs or vakils, if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation. A people cannot rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone. Memory is not mind, though it is a faculty of the mind. And yet we go on sharpening the memory of our students, encouraging them to the application of purely mnemonic tests, stuffing their brains with the abracadabra of geometry and physics and algebra and logic, until, after hundreds, nay thousands, have perished by the way, the residuum, who have survived the successive tests, emerge in the Elysian

fields of the B.A. degree. Teachers get carried away by the same fundamental error as their pupils, and, instead of thinking only of the mental and moral development of the students committed to their care, are absorbed with percentages and passes and tabulated results. This is the furrow out of which we ought to lift Indian education if we can, before it has been finally dragged down and choked by the mire.

There are other questions which I ask myself, and to which I cannot give the answer that I would like. I have remarked that we have been at work for seventy years. Even if we have done much, have we made the anticipated progress, and are we going ahead now? We are educating 4½ millions out of the total population of British India. Is this a satisfactory or an adequate proportion? We spent upon education in the last year from public funds a sum of £1,140,000, as compared with £1,360,000 from fees and endowments. Is the State's contribution sufficient? Ought it to be increased? Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all? If so, is it observed, and what is the machinery by which it is carried out? Is there any due supervision of this vast and potent engine of creative energy, or, after its furnace has been fed, are the wheels left to go round, and the piston-rod to beat, without control? As I say, I cannot answer all these questions as I should wish. There seems to me to be a misdirection, and in some cases a waste, of force, for which I cannot hold the Government free from blame. I observe a conflict of systems which finds no justification in the administrative severance or in the local conditions of separate provinces and areas. In the praiseworthy desire to escape centralisation at headquarters we appear to have set up a number of petty kingdoms, a sort of heptarchy in the land, whose administration, in its freedom and lack of uniformity, reminds me of the days of the Hebrew judges, when there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes. Elasticity, flexibility, variety, our system

must have; but it will lose half its force if they are not inspired by a common principle or directed to a common aim. The limits of Government interference I shall discuss later on; but it will be observed from what I have already said that the responsibility of Government, by which I mean the Imperial Government, is one that I do not hesitate to avow. I hold the education of the Indian people to be as much a duty of the Central Government as the police of our cities or the taxation of our citizens. Indeed, more so; for whereas these duties can safely be delegated to subordinate hands, the Government can never abrogate its personal responsibility for the living welfare of the multitudes that have been committed to its care.

With these preliminaries I pass to an examination of the different problems that lie before us. The first of these is the University system in India. The Indian Universities may be described as the first-fruits of the broad and liberal policy of the Education Despatch of 1854. Founded upon the model of the London University, they sprang into being at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. At a later date a somewhat different constitution, though a similar model, was adopted at Lahore and Allahabad. As time goes on, the list may perhaps be extended, though consolidation rather than multiplication of academic institutions is the object that I should prefer for the present to hold in view.

Now the first reflection that strikes every observer of the Indian system who is familiar with the older English Universities is the fundamental contrast both of character and conception. Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions composed of Colleges which constitute and are embodied in the corporate whole. The two together make the University; they twain are one flesh. Each College has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation, often hallowed by romance and venerable with age. The groups of Colleges combine for purposes of lectures. The University supervises and controls all by its ex-

aminations, its professorial lectures, its central government, and its administration of corporate funds. Above all, it sways the life of the College undergraduate, by the memory of its past, by the influence of its public buildings, by its common institutions, and by the cosmopolitan field of interest and emulation which it offers.

How different is India! Here the University has no corporate existence in the same sense of the term; it is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the pupils of affiliated Colleges. They are not part of it. They are frequently not in the same city, sometimes not in the same province. The affiliated Colleges of the Calcutta University are scattered in regions as remote as Burma and Ceylon. Then look at the Colleges. They are not residential institutions, with a history, a tradition, a *genius loci*, a tutorial staff, of their own. They are for the most part collections of lecture-rooms, and class-rooms, and laboratories. They are bound to each other by no tie of common feeling, and to the University by no tie of filial reverence. On the contrary, each for the most part regards the others as rivals, and pursues its own path in self-centred and sometimes jealous isolation. The reproach has even been brought against them that their lecturers are not teachers, but are merely the purveyors of a certain article to a class of purchasers, that this article happens to be called education, and that the purveyor stands not behind a counter but behind a desk. There may be exaggeration in this description, but there may also be a grain of truth. Even if the process may be termed education, it is not in the truest sense teaching: it may sharpen some facets of the mind, but it cannot properly develop the whole.

These are, of course, the familiar characteristics of an examining as contrasted with a teaching University; characteristics which, owing to Indian geography and to the peculiar circumstances of Indian life, are seen in

exaggeration in this country. The question that they suggest to me is whether we cannot do something to combine with the obligatory features of an Indian University some portion of the advantages and the influence of Western institutions. Of course, we cannot all in a moment, by a stroke of the pen, create an Indian Oxford or an Indian Cambridge. The country is not ready for the experiment, the funds are not forthcoming, the students would not be there, it would not fit in with the Indian environment. But at least it may be possible to remove the impediments that retard the ultimate realisation of such an ideal. The younger sisters of our premier Indian Universities were given constitutional powers that had been denied to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay thirty years before. They may "appoint or provide for the appointment of professors and lecturers," whereas Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay enjoy no such statutory power. It is true that there is no obstacle to the private endowment of lectureships or professorships at these Universities, and the Tagore Law Professorship and the Sri Gopal Basu Mallick Fellowship at Calcutta are instances of such endowments. But they are not University foundations in the sense of being controlled by the University, nor is attendance at the lectures included in any University course. Now I do not say that if the legal facilities for the constitution of a teaching University were provided, advantage would forthwith be taken of them. The Universities of Allahabad and Lahore have not yet profited by their privileges in this respect. Neither do I say that education has yet reached a point of development in India at which they are essential to its progress. But it is conceivable that the opportunity will in time create the desire. Wealthy men in India, as elsewhere, may be tempted to expend their resources upon the endowment of University institutions or University chairs; and thus by slow degrees the Indian Universities may one day rise to the dignity of the superior status, and may learn to deserve their name. The foundation of prizes or scholar-

ships for original work lying outside the University courses might also tend in the same direction. If, at the same time, it were found possible to concentrate and to unify the educational power that is now diffused in so many different directions, and to institute even tentatively a system of linked lectures among some at any rate of the affiliated Colleges, I think that we should be doing something to infuse greater unity into the present conflict of jarring atoms, and to inspire higher education in India with a nobler ideal. There is one matter upon which, in view of the fact that our advance must in any case be slow, too much stress cannot, in my opinion, be laid. I allude to the adequate provision and due inspection of hostels or boarding-houses for the pupils at the Colleges in the large towns. In the absence of residential Colleges, these institutions appear to furnish the nearest equivalent that can for the present be supplied. Many a father is deterred from sending up his son to take part in the College courses in the great cities, from fear of the social and moral temptation to which he will be exposed. If attached to every College or group of Colleges there were such a building or buildings, a parent might feel less alarm, and the student would quickly become the gainer by the comradeship and *esprit de corps* which life in such surroundings, if properly controlled, would engender. I therefore commend the consideration of this subject to the Conference.

I pass to the government of the Indian Universities, by which question I mean the constitution and composition of the Senates and Syndicates. Here I do not shrink from saying that there is substantial need for reform. To some extent the failure of the Universities to satisfy the full expectation of their founders has been due to faults already indicated, the nature of the education offered, and the system under which it is supplied. But for these faults the executive authority cannot be held free from blame; and when one realises the principles upon which that authority has been constituted,

and the sources from which it has been replenished, there cannot be much cause for surprise. I find that the strength of the various Senates differs in the following degrees: Allahabad 82, Lahore 104, Calcutta 180, Madras 197, Bombay 310. There can be no sufficient reason for such extreme disparity. These bodies, moreover, are constituted in different ways and in different proportions. The majority of them suffer from being much too unwieldy; and they all suffer from being filled, in the main, not by the test of educational interest, or influence, or knowledge, but by that of personal or official distinction. I do not say that it is not a good thing to place upon the governing body of every University a number of eminent outsiders who will lend dignity to its proceedings, and will regard academic matters from a not exclusively academic standpoint. Every one will agree with this. But every one also knows that the principle has been pushed to extravagant lengths; that scores of Fellows have been appointed who never come near the Senates at all, except possibly once or twice in a decade when they are whipped up for some important division; that a Fellowship is regarded as a sort of titular honour, not as an academic reward; that the majority of the Senates have had no practical experience of teaching, and very likely only take an abstract interest in education; that many excellent men have never been placed upon them; and, generally speaking, that almost any interest rather than that of education *per se* has been considered in their composition. If we take the elected Fellows, we shall find a similar diversity in proportions, methods of election, and results. In some cases election is provided for by statute; in most it is conceded as a privilege. The numbers vary as follows: Lahore 7, Madras 16, Bombay 18, Calcutta 22, Allahabad 41. In some cases the Senates elect, in others the Graduates. Sometimes the elections are periodic, elsewhere they are intermittent. Then, if we proceed to examine the Syndicates, which are the real governing bodies of the Universities, we

shall find a similar absence of uniformity, with what seem to me to be even more undesirable results. In the cases of Allahabad and Lahore, the Syndicates are provided for by the Acts of Incorporation. In the older Universities they have no statutory recognition at all, but have sprung out of the Provisional Committees which were appointed to work out the original constitution of those bodies. In the older Universities the Syndicates number 9 or 10 persons in addition to the Vice-Chancellor, in Bombay 14, while in that of Calcutta there is no provision other than the uncontrolled option of the Faculties, that a single educational officer shall be placed upon it. At Allahabad and Lahore the numbers are larger, 18 and 20, and of these it is required by bye-laws that a certain number shall have been engaged in educational work.

Now, as regards all the bodies that I have named, namely, nominated Fellows, elected Fellows, Senates, and Syndicates, I do not plead for mathematical uniformity, either of numbers or proportions, everywhere. It is a great mistake to be too rigid, or to try and force everybody and everything into the same mould. But, on the other hand, I do say that the present absence of system is indefensible, and that it tends to produce much of the uncertainty and conflict which I have deplored. I have already, in a speech at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University,[1] indicated some of the directions in which I think that reform should lie; and as they will form the basis of our discussions, I will summarise them here. It will be for us to examine whether the larger Senates should be reduced to more moderate proportions, whether some machinery should be devised for placing upon them a sufficient number of educational experts, whether a Fellowship should be a terminable honour, capable of renewal, and whether a reasonable attendance test should be imposed. As regards elected Fellows, we must consider whether it is desirable to give a statutory

[1] This speech is not reproduced in this work.

basis to this most important and highly valued privilege, and, if so, what should be the qualifications both of the electoral body and of the candidates, and for what duration of time the Fellowship should be held. As regards the Syndicates, it is for consideration whether statutory recognition should be given to those bodies who are at present without it, what should be their due numbers in relation to the strength of the Senate and the position of the University, what are the functions that they should discharge, and what steps are required to ensure that these influential Committees, which practically have the government of the Universities in their hands, shall contain a due proportion of experts, who will guide them towards the goal that all friends of education must have in view.

All these are important questions. I do not venture to pronounce dogmatically upon any of them. But from such opportunity as I have had of consulting authoritative opinion as well as of testing the currents of the popular mind, I am inclined to think that they will furnish the basis of a generally acceptable reform. They are attempts to introduce order and regularity into that which is at present formless and void, and to provide us in future with a more scientific and efficient machine.

But improvements in mechanism cover but a small part of the field of inquiry. They are the mere instruments of administration, and their consideration leads us by a natural transition to a study of the system which they administer. I shall put to this Conference the questions—Is the academic standard which it is their business to maintain sufficiently high, or is it unduly low? Is it in course of being elevated, or is the tendency in a retrograde direction? What are the facts as regards the Entrance Examinations? And what as regards the First Arts and B.A. Examinations? These are questions upon which I have not the knowledge to enable me to pronounce with any certainty, but concerning which the facts that have come under my notice lead me to entertain some doubt. The evidence varies

somewhat in different parts of the country, but the general impression seems to be that there is cause for alarm.

When I find that at Madras in the past year, out of 7300 persons who presented themselves for the Entrance University Examination, certified by their teachers to be fit for the higher course of teaching, as many as four-fifths were rejected, I ask myself what the value of the school final courses can have been. When I find that in Calcutta, out of 6134 who entered for the Entrance Examination, only 3307, or 54 per cent, passed; that out of 3722 who entered for the First Arts Examination, only 1208, or 32 per cent, passed, and that out of 1980 who entered for the B.A. Examination, only 370, or 19 per cent, passed; and that, roughly speaking, of those who aspire to a University course, only 1 in 17 ultimately takes a degree, and of, those who actually start upon it, only 1 in 9—I cannot but feel some suspicion as to the efficacy and the standards of a system which produces such results. Some might argue that tests which admit of so many failures must be too hard. I am disposed to ask whether the preceding stages are not too easy.

Now I know that a proposal to raise the standard anywhere is not popular. Every pupil wants to go forward; every College desires to send up as many as possible of its students; every teacher is personally concerned in pushing on his pupils. No one wants to discourage the Colleges which are engaged in a most momentous and uphill work, or to dishearten and retard the boys. So much we may all concede. But my gorge is disposed to rise when I read in respectable papers that it does not matter whether the standard is high or low, and when I am invited, as I was on the occasion of the death of the late Queen Victoria, to commemorate her name by lowering the standard all round. Only the other day I read an argument that, because at some of the less influential Oxford or Cambridge Colleges the matriculation standard is low, therefore

it does not matter how low it is here. There is not the remotest analogy between the two cases. An undergraduate does not pass those examinations in England as a test for the public service ; and he goes to a College in many cases less for the sake of the academic standards to which he is required to conform, than of the social and moral influences which result from a University career, and which are entirely lacking in this country.

We must regard the matter not from these low or selfish standpoints, but in the higher interests of education at large. A system, the standards of which are in danger of being degraded, is a system that must sooner or later decline. We do not want to close the doors of the Colleges, or to reduce the number of their pupils. It is quality, not quantity, that we should have in view. Whether this danger is a serious one, and how far it is desirable to meet it by increasing the length of the school courses, or by fixing a limit of age for the Entrance Examinations, or by raising the percentage of marks required for a pass, are matters upon which I shall take your opinion. But let the criterion of our action, and also of the public attitude upon this matter, be not the sordid one of self-interest, but the welfare of education as a whole, and the advancement of the future generations of our people.

These are the main questions in connection with University Reform that I shall submit to your notice. But there are others of scarcely inferior importance which I have no time to do more than summarise today. I have spoken of the duty of maintaining a high standard in examinations. Is it not equally our duty to maintain a high standard in the affiliation of Colleges? I have examined the systems in vogue in the different University areas, and I find that no two are alike, and that in some cases carelessness has crept in. I think that we want to exercise great caution and vigilance in the recognition of these affiliated institutions, and that incentives should be given to their maintenance of the initial standard. Again, when I look at the question of

degrees, I was somewhat surprised to note last year that a proposal made in the Senate of the Calcutta University to deprive of their degrees members who had been convicted of a criminal offence was defeated. I believe that the somewhat sinister interpretation which this step appeared to justify was not borne out by the inner history of the case; but it cannot be denied that a University whose governing body arrives at such a decision exposes itself to not undeserved reproach. Here once more I ask—Is not a high standard a primary and solemn obligation?

A corollary of the subject of the elevation of standards is the assimilation of those already existing. It does not seem desirable that the degree of one University should be thought much of, and another little. Is it possible to take any steps towards the equalisation of the value and estimation of University degrees? Is any interchange between the examining staffs of the different Universities possible?

Then there is the question of Text-books and Courses of Study. Upon looking into the matter two years ago in connection with Primary and Secondary Schools, I found that there was a complete absence of uniformity in the different provinces, that the local Governments had in some places abdicated their functions, and that the cardinal principles of the Education Commission had been ignored. By a Resolution issued in February 1900 we endeavoured to correct these errors. The question of text-books in Colleges is one of equal importance, and calls for examination. I observe that public opinion is very sensitive in this matter, and is always inclined to suspect the Government of some dark intention. This appears to me to be unreasonable. It might equally be open to the Government to turn round and say to the Board of Studies, or the authorities who prescribe the text-books and courses of study, that there must be something queer in the background if they are so nervous about any intervention. Surely we all realise that successful teaching must depend upon two things,

the quality of the teachers, and the nature of the thing taught. To tell me that Government is responsible for education in this country, but that it is not to be at liberty to say a word upon the thing taught, is to adopt a position which seems to me illogical and absurd. The views that we entertain upon this matter were clearly stated in the Resolution to which I have referred, and I will quote them :—

> The Government of India cannot consent to divest itself of the responsibility that attaches both to its interest and its prerogatives. If it is to lend the resources of the State to the support of certain schools, it cannot abrogate its right to a powerful voice in the determination of the course of studies which is there imparted.

I have now finished with the subject of University Education. Your authority and advice should enable me to solve many of the doubts that I have here expressed; and we shall all profit by the out-of-door criticism which these views may perhaps be fortunate enough to elicit. If it be found desirable to take any comprehensive action in the matter, I suggest for further consideration whether it may not be well to institute some preliminary inquiry at the various centres affected, at which those who are interested may have an opportunity of favouring us with their views.

The subject of Secondary Education, to which I now turn, presents, in many ways, more encouraging features than its sister subjects, both higher and lower in the scale. This is due in the main to the increasing demand for English education, to the starting of schools in order to meet it, and to the rise in income from fees therein obtained. There are several matters in connection with this branch of our subject to which I shall invite your attention; but there are only two of them upon which it is necessary to say anything here.

The first of these is the degree to which is being carried out the Government policy as laid down by the Education Commission of 1882-83 and by subsequent

Resolutions — viz. that private effort should be encouraged by every possible means, and that Government should gradually withdraw from the direct management of secondary schools. This seems to me to be a very difficult question, for, while it cannot be doubted that the principles underlying this policy are sound, and while progress in that direction should be our aim, Secondary Education is not yet in most parts in a position to stand alone. The existence of a limited number of well-managed Government schools undoubtedly serves to keep up a high standard in aided schools, and their disappearance would probably be followed by a serious diminution in the quality of Secondary Education. My view is that a *pari passu* development will probably for some time longer be found desirable, but that Government should be careful to regard its own institutions not as competitors, but as models.

The second question is how far the policy of bifurcation of studies in the upper classes of High Schools—as recommended by the Education Commission—is being carried out, and what are its results. The object of this recommendation was to institute a practical course of instruction for those youths who do not intend to proceed to the University Examinations, but who aspire to a commercial or non-literary career. Progress in this direction has, on the whole, been slow, and has varied in different portions of the country. The obstacles have been great. The Indian middle-class public has not yet attuned itself to the need for practical education; a superior commercial value still attaches to literary courses. To some extent the studies thus organised have not been successful, because they lead to nothing, because they have been too optional and not sufficiently practical, and because they have not been co-ordinated with technical or commercial education in a more advanced stage. I expect that if we can provide the boys who elect for what I may call, upon the English analogy, the modern side, either with employment when they

leave the schools or with facilities for a continuous training in technical courses, we shall do better in the future. But something will also depend on the attitude of the educated classes, and the direction which they give to the popular mind.

Primary Education—by which I understand the teaching of the masses in the vernacular—opens a wider and a more contested field of study. I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think, has been a mistake, and I say so for two principal reasons. In the first place, the vernaculars are the living languages of this great continent. English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to the small minority; but for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them. But we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art; while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people to whom our English terms and ideas will never be anything but an unintelligible jargon. My second reason is even wider in its application. What is the greatest danger in India? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crime—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body-politic.

But if I thus stoutly urge the claims of the education of the people, there is one misapprehension to which I must protest against being exposed: the man who

defends Primary Education is not therefore disparaging Higher Education. It is one of the peculiar incidents of journalistic criticism as practised in the native Press, that you cannot express approval of one thing without being supposed to imply disapproval of another. Let me say then, in order to disarm this particular line of comment, that I regard both Elementary and Higher Education as equally the duty and the care of Government, and that it does not for one moment follow, because the one is encouraged, that the other will therefore be starved. As a matter of fact, we have rushed ahead with our English Education; and the vernaculars with their multitudinous clientèle have been left almost standing at the post. They have to make up a good deal of leeway in the race before any one can be suspected of showing them undue favour.

The main obstacles which Primary Education has to contend with spring from the people themselves. As they rise in the social scale they wish their children to learn English. The zemindars encourage this tendency, and the District Boards and Municipalities do little to drag the pendulum back. Thus we find that in some provinces Primary Education is almost stationary, while in others it is only making slow speed. The question is really in the main one of money. If the means were forthcoming, I do not doubt that local Governments would be ready to adopt a more generous policy. For my own part, I venture to think that, when we have the resources at our disposal—as I hope that with a cycle of good seasons we shall have before long,—one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses. It cannot be a right thing that three out of every four country villages should be still without a school, and that not much more than 3,000,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. I am not clear also that we might not do more by making passes in the higher vernacular examinations the test for subordinate

Government posts, where the first requisite is familiarity with the language of the people.

Subordinate questions connected with this branch of my subject, such as the applicability of Kindergarten or object-lesson teaching, and of manual training, practical instruction in the scientific principles underlying the industry of agriculture, simple lessons in geometrical drawing, and the sufficiency of the teaching and inspecting staffs, I will reserve for our deliberations, and will now pass on to the subject of Technical Education.

The phrase Technical Education is employed in many senses in this country, just as it also is in Europe. In both parts of the world many of those who use it have no clear idea of what it signifies; and so great is the general confusion that I observed the other day that no less a personage than the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared that he was unable to find a meaning for the phrase. Here in India there seems to be a general idea that in Technical Education will be found the regeneration of the country. Technical Education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develop the latent resources of the soil, to reduce the rush of our youths to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problem, and generally to revive a Saturnian age. The imagination of the people has been struck by the alleged triumphs of Germany, and by the unquestionable enterprise of the youth of Japan. The Government of India has been caught in the same stream of anxious interest, but uncertain thought; and the autumnal leaves are not more thickly strewn in Vallombrosa than the pigeon-holes of our Departments are filled with Resolutions on the subject inculcating the most specious and unimpeachable maxims in the most beautiful language.

There is nothing to wonder at in the relatively small progress that has so far been attained. Where knowledge is fluid, action is not likely to be consistent or strong; and where every dreamer expects to find in a particular

specific the realisation of his own dream, there are certain to be more disappointments than successes. But from this it must not be inferred either that nothing has already been done, or that much more cannot be done, or even that a good many of those who write and talk rather vaguely may not be to some extent on the right track.

First, however, let me say clearly what I mean, and what I do not mean, by Technical Education, for the purposes of the present discussion. I mean that practical instruction which will qualify a youth or a man for the practice of some handicraft, or industry, or profession. I do not include in the phrase that more advanced form of educational activity which is known as Scientific Research, and which involves the application of the most highly trained faculties to scientific experiment. Nor, at the other end of the scale, do I include the practical steps to be taken for the revival of Indian arts and industries. That is a question in which I take the keenest interest; but it is a question which has a commercial aspect, and which will be solved by the application of private enterprise and capital, and by following the recognised and traditional lines of Indian practice, rather than it will be by education in Government Colleges or Schools. Nor, again, do I refer to those steps for imparting a more practical turn to the education of the young in our Primary and Secondary Schools, mention of which has already been made, but which must not be confused with technical instruction, partly because they are general instead of specialised, partly because they are in the majority of cases intended to train up faculties rather than to train for professions.

Eliminating all these aspects of educational effort, which are sometimes, though as I think incorrectly, included in the phrase Technical Instruction, and confining its use to the narrower interpretation which I have suggested, let us see what has already been done, and where lies the necessity for increased activity or for reform. The institutions of this character that have

been founded or aided by the Government of India fall into two classes: (1) Technical Colleges or Schools; (2) Industrial Schools. The former have been founded for the direct object of training skilled workers in certain professions, arts, or trades. They include Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture, Veterinary Colleges, Schools of Art, and other analogous institutions. Some of these, such as the Rurki and Sibpur Engineering Colleges, the College of Science at Poona, the Victoria Jubilee Institute at Bombay, have turned out, either for the public service or for professional careers, most excellent men. Several of the Schools of Art have done much also to keep alive old arts and designs; though I fancy that their pupils, when the courses are over, are too apt to drift away from artistic pursuits, and that they cannot claim as yet to have produced any considerable artists or architects. The Agricultural Colleges have been less successful. They have been resorted to as stepping-stones to Government service in the revenue or settlement branches of administration; but, in a country that subsists by agriculture, they have as yet been but poorly patronised by the class who are hereditarily connected as landowners with the soil. Nevertheless, surveying the whole field, it does not seem to me that it is in respect of institutions of the class that I have been describing that reform is most urgently required. Indeed, there is a certain danger in starting too many ambitious schemes. We have to provide not merely for the select thousands, but, if possible, for the less favoured tens of thousands.

This brings me to the subject of the Industrial Schools that exist, or should exist, on a rather lower plane—what I may call ordinary Middle Class Technical Schools. Last year, as you know, I entrusted Sir Edward Buck, who has devoted a lifetime to infusing ideas into Indian administration, with the task of advising the Government upon Technical Education in general in this country; and his Report, which you have already received, will supply us with a useful basis for discussion. It cannot

be doubted that here lies a fruitful field for reform. These schools have been started in different parts of the country upon no definite principles and with no clear aims, and have so far been attended with insignificant results. In the first place, it is a commonplace of all Technical Education that it must have certain antecedents, *i.e.* it must be preceded by a good general training of a practical character in the schools. This consideration explains the importance of the subject to which, when speaking of Primary and Secondary Education, I have already drawn your attention. Then, when the pupil comes to your Industrial School, you must make up your mind whether you wish to turn him into a scholar or to make him a craftsman—it is difficult to do both at the same time. If the latter is your object, as it obviously must be, then you must give him an education neither too high nor too low to qualify him for an artisan. If it is too high, you make him discontented with manual labour; if too low, he becomes a useless workman. Further, when you propose to teach him a handicraft, let it be one to which he will adhere when he has left the school, and which will provide him with a livelihood. Sir E. Buck says that our present Industrial Schools are largely engaged in teaching carpentry and smithy-work to boys who never intend to be carpenters or blacksmiths. There can be no excuse for such a misdirection of energy. It applies also to many of the Art Schools where, with great labour, a boy is taught carving, or pottery, or sculpture, or some other art industry, and then, when he has got his diploma, he cheerfully drops his art and accepts a modest billet in the service of Government. If Technical Education is to open a real field for the youth of India, it is obvious that it must be conducted on much more businesslike principles. When the poet said that "Life is real! Life is earnest!" he wrote what is even more true of that part of life which is called education. I should like to begin with these Industrial Schools, and to see whether we cannot make something

much better out of them. First, we must co-ordinate them with the general schools, and distinguish, instead of mixing up, their courses. Then we must turn them into practical places where a boy does not merely pick up a smattering of an art or an industry for which he has no care, but where he acquires a training for a professional career. Lastly, we must invite native interest to co-operate with us in the matter; for there is no use in creating good schools if the pupils will not come into them, and there is no use manufacturing good workmen if no employment is available for them when they have been taught. If we can proceed on these lines, I believe that we may be able to do something substantial, even if it be not heroic, for the cause of Technical Education in this country.

There remain five subjects to which I hope that we may find time to devote attention. The first of these is the present condition and future encouragement of the Training Colleges or Schools, and, in a lower scale, of the Normal Schools, in which our teachers are trained up. I would not quarrel with the thesis that this is the supreme need of Indian Education. Two propositions I would unhesitatingly lay down. The first is, that as the teacher is, so will the school be, and the pupil in the school. I might even carry on the remark to a higher stage, and say that as the head of the Training School is, so will the teaching staff be whom he turns out. The second is, that no country will ever have good education until it has trained good teachers. My tours in India have not brought me into contact with any of these preparatory institutions, and I therefore cannot speak of them at first hand. I am disposed, however, to think that, while there is no great deficiency in their numbers, there is room for much improvement in respect of quality and work, and that our policy should be not to multiply, but to raise the status. Of course here, as everywhere else, raising the status means in the last resort raising the pay. I would not shrink from recommending this conclusion to the local Governments, since

I cannot imagine any object to which they could more profitably devote their funds.

The second question is that of the recruitment of the higher officers of our educational service, and the tests, in respect both of educational knowledge and of acquaintance with the language, to which they are required to conform. Are we sufficiently strict in these particulars?

The third topic is that of Female Education. Here the figures exhibit a relatively very backward state of affairs. Indeed, Mr. Cotton in the last Quinquennial Review described it as "the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India." In the past year there were only 425,000 girls attending all classes of schools out of the entire population, and of these nearly one-third were in Madras, where the native Christian and Eurasian populations are unusually large. Moderate as I have shown the number of boys to be who go to school, only one girl attends for every ten of the male sex, and only 2½ per cent of the female population of school-going age; and the total expenditure upon Female Education in Primary and Secondary Schools from all public funds (I exclude fees, subscriptions, and endowments) was last year only 11 lakhs, as compared with 80 lakhs on boys. Female Education has to suffer from many drawbacks in this country. It is contrary to the traditions and prejudices of the people. Their native customs, particularly that of early marriage, and the idea that women ought not to be trained up to remunerative employment, are unfavourable to it. In so far as it is practised, it is almost entirely confined to girls of the lower classes, who go to the Primary Schools to pick up the three R's. Parents in the higher classes will not send their girls to school. They prefer to have them educated in the zenana at home. It is too much, with all these obstacles in the way, to expect that Female Education in India will make any sudden or rapid strides. But I think that we might do more to foster its growth by providing suitable teachers, and,

perhaps, by encouraging the formation of a few model schools.

The fourth subject to which I referred is that of Moral Teaching in our schools. I do not feel it necessary to speak of religious instruction, because, profoundly as I believe that no teaching of the young can have the desired results unless it rests upon a religious foundation, I hold as strongly that it is not for ourselves to undertake the teaching of a foreign religion in the Government schools. But the question of moral training is one to which the Government of India have often devoted much attention. I am not inclined to find a solution in the moral primer or text-book that was suggested by the Education Commission. If pupils can cram Euclid, there is nothing to prevent them from cramming ethics. I am not certain either that the moral precepts which we understand are as easily grasped by the native mind. The ideas of good and evil are equally entertained, but are differently expressed, by the East and the West. We must look for religious instruction, Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindu, to the private institutions, where the tenets of those faiths are taught by their own votaries, and to which we can lend the assistance of Government grants-in-aid. As regards the moral standard, there are three methods by which it can be inculcated: by the careful selection of teachers, by the use of text-books that imbue by precept or example a healthy moral tone, and by discipline in the boarding-schools. The sum and substance of the matter is that books can do something, but teachers can do more.

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained

to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge — sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives—the Government possesses expert advisers. In education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India the Quinquennial Review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing, and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues, and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a department of the State, or fetter the Colleges and schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas. I go further, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will be of immense assistance to the local Governments. His wider outlook will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders

to the local Governments; but he would be in frequent communication with them; and his main function would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in co-ordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.[1]

I have now passed in view the entire field of Indian Education; and if I have detained you long, I doubt whether it would have been possible to do even elementary justice to so vast a theme more shortly. I will only say in conclusion—and these remarks are addressed to the outside public rather than to yourselves—that I trust that the frankness in which I have indulged will not turn out to have been misplaced. It is possible to wreck any scheme of educational reform by making it an occasion for the selfishness of class interests or the bigotry of faction. Let us dismiss all such petty considerations from our minds. The Government desire, with an honesty of purpose that is not open to question, and with aims that few will contest, to place the educational system of this country upon a sounder and firmer basis. It can be done if all the parties and persons interested will combine to help us; and in that case it will be done, not by Government fiat, but by common consent. Only let every one of us bear in mind the real magnitude of the issues, and remember that we are not playing with counters, but handling the life-pulse of future generations.

[1] The consent of the Secretary of State was subsequently obtained to the appointment of a Director-General of Education, and the first occupant of the post, Mr. H. W. Orange, signally justified his selection. For a Conference of the character here indicated, *vide* p. 64.

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Speech at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University on February 13, 1904

I address this assemblage to-day in the unique position of a Chancellor presiding for the sixth time in succession at a Convocation of the Calcutta University. But I also occupy the, if possible, still more unusual position of the last Chancellor of an old régime, addressing the last Senate and the last Syndicate of an era that is about to disappear. There may be some who think that they see in the Vice-Chancellor[1] and myself the two chief executioners, about to admonish their victims before leading them to the scaffold, and who may think that the position is one of some painfulness and restraint. But I can assure this Convocation on behalf of my hon. colleague as well as for myself that we entertain no such feelings. For the patient in our view is in no wise doomed to extinction, but is about to reappear with a fresh lease of life; and the instruments of the sentence hold in their hand, not the executioner's axe, but the phial that contains the elixir of a new and happy resurrection. Neither, again, do we regard the old Senate and the old University as passing out of their present existence with any sentence of shame or disgrace recorded against them. On the contrary, if we look back at the forty years of their existence, there is much to be grateful for in what they have done or attempted to do. If they have not yet given Higher Education to India in any true sense of the term, they have at least made it an aspiration to the best of her sons. Slowly but surely they have raised the standard of national morals, and they have brought to the door of thousands the wisdom and the ideals of the West. But, like many implements that have been working for nearly fifty years without a respite, their machinery has grown rusty and obsolete; they have fallen into a narrow and

[1] Sir Thomas Raleigh.

stereotyped groove of work; the quality of their output is greatly inferior to its volume; and in too many cases the end arrived at bears little relation to education at all. These are the reasons why we have felt called upon to undertake the task, familiar in every workshop in the world, of taking stock of our plant, of overhauling it, and bringing it up to the needs of the day. There are always persons on these occasions who deprecate this necessary and businesslike proceeding, because it involves a shock to some interests, or some prospective risk, or even some positive change. We, however, on whose shoulders the responsibility has been laid, cannot afford to be deterred by these pleas. We must not be rash or hurried in our procedure; and, assuredly, when I remember myself standing no less than five years ago in this place and announcing the commencement of the task of which we are now approaching the completion, that seems to me about the last accusation which should be brought against us. We must as far as possible, in a matter of the supreme national importance of education, be open to advice and correction, and must try to carry the community along with us. I say, as far as possible, because there are always some persons who do not mean to be conciliated, and who cavil and sneer at the very reform which they are one day destined to applaud. That class we may argue with, but we cannot, I fear, placate. But it is, on the whole, a small one; and I prefer rather to turn to the far wider section of the community with whom it has been my good fortune to come into contact during these five years of strenuous preparation and discussion; to good men engaged in the work or profession of teaching but eating their hearts out because of the unsatisfactory conditions under which it has hitherto been carried on; to officials who have seen the administrative side of the system, and are burning to remedy its flaws and abuses; to non-officials who look rather to the broad results, and have recognised that learning in India is not making the progress that it should; to native gentlemen who, irrespective of party

politics or national feeling, desire to see their countrymen raised higher in the intellectual scale, who feel that, somehow or other, the soul and heart of the people are not giving forth all that they are capable of doing, and who have sufficient independence of thought to realise that, unless Government interferes to set matters right, there will be no setting right at all. All these are the classes from whom I have met with sympathy, co-operation, and support; and I rejoice to think that they, along with the Government of India, are the joint authors and co-sponsors of the projected reforms.

I do not propose to address this Convocation on the present occasion on the provisions of the Universities Bill. That measure is now before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, and in what form it may ultimately emerge I cannot tell. I shall have opportunities of speaking upon the matter and of defending the attitude of the Government, if it requires defence, later on. Nor do I think that the present audience, which contains so many young men who have just taken their degrees, and who have not familiarised themselves with the polemics of public life—at least I hope that they have not,—would be altogether the most suitable for the purpose.

I would like, however, to address these young men for a few moments, and to ask them, and their seniors at the same time—for my remarks will be equally applicable to both,—if they have at all realised what it is, or at least what it ought to be, to belong to a University; and if I can get them to understand this, then they will be in a better frame of mind, on some other occasion, when the Universities Bill is being discussed in the Legislative Council or in the Press, to realise what it is that we are struggling for, and why we take so much trouble, and are willing to fight so many battles, in the pursuit of our aim.

I daresay that to many of this audience the University means nothing more than the final stage in a long and irksome series of examinations in which they have been engaged ever since they were young boys.

It has, perhaps, something rather grander and bigger about it than any educational institution that they have known before, because it is in the capital of India, and possesses this great hall, and still more because it is the dispenser of the gown and the hood that signify academic rank, and carry with them the coveted initials that are the passport in India to so many places and occupations. But the name, I daresay, suggests to them no other associations; it inspires few ambitions; it is invested with no romance. In hundreds of cases the connection of the student with the University, as distinct from the College where he has attended, is nothing beyond the sheets of paper on which are printed the questions which he is called upon to answer, and the slip of parchment on which he receives the diploma that records his success.

It is because we want to make the University something better and more substantial, better than a mere shell with no kernel inside it, and more substantial than a name, that we have undertaken these reforms. What ought the ideal University to be in India, as elsewhere? As the name implies, it ought to be a place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seek to acquire it, where the knowledge so taught is turned to good purposes, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension. If I may borrow a metaphor from politics, there is no scientific frontier to the domain of knowledge. It is the one sphere where territorial expansion is the highest duty instead of an ignoble greed. Then the ideal University that we are contemplating should be centrally situated; it should be amply and even nobly housed; it should be well equipped, and it should be handsomely endowed. In these conditions it would soon create an atmosphere of intellectual refinement and culture, a moral quality and influence would spring within it, and traditions of reverence would grow up like creepers round its walls. Thus you see that the ideal University would consist of two aspects. It would be a place for the dissemination of

knowledge and the encouragement of learning; and it would further be a human smithy where character was forged in the furnace of experience, and beaten out on the anvil of truth. Which of these two aspects is the more important I need not here discuss. A good deal depends on the state of moral and intellectual development of the race that is being educated there, and something also on the needs of the country concerned. But no good University, and certainly no ideal University, can exist without playing both parts.

Now, having drawn my sketch, if you ask me whether we have got this University here, or anywhere in India, the answer is unmistakably No. We are without the traditions, for the oldest University in India is not yet half a century old; we have not the environment or the atmosphere—they cannot be created in twice that time; we lack the buildings, the endowments, the teachers, the scholarships, the funds. It would be easy for any critic to contend that our Universities are no more than examining boards, our Colleges schools of a higher grade, our courses a text-book at one end and a note-book at the other. I would not dispute with him if he went further, and said that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or for the training of character, is only in its infancy, and that, while we trim the wick of the intellect with mechanical accuracy, we have hardly learned how to light up the lamp of the soul.

But are we, therefore, to sit still or be dismayed? Are we not to make a beginning, or to foster such beginning—and I think that it clearly exists—as has already been made? Lord Beaconsfield once said that it is a holy thing to see a nation saved by its youth. Yes, it is; but there is a holier thing still, and that is to save the youth of a nation. I wonder how many of the good people who go to meetings and denounce the Government for ringing the death-knell of Higher Education in India—and other tropes of that description—pause to think that you cannot ring the death-knell of that which in the true sense of the term has never been born. Is

there a thoughtful man in India who does not know that if we go on as we are now doing, education in this country, instead of becoming higher, must become lower, and that the best education will continue, as now, to be the monopoly of the few, instead of being increasingly diffused among the classes who are worthy of it? Our purpose, therefore, is not destructive, but constructive. We have to save the rising generation of India from walking in false paths, and to guide them into right ones. No Government can do this by itself, and no law that can be placed upon the statute-book will effect it. But Government can provide the opportunity, and the law can supply the means; and then the responsibility will rest with others, both of your race and mine, for taking advantage of them.

If, then, we have not got the ideal University, and are not in a position, by a stroke of the pen to create it, at least let us render it possible in the future. The material is here in abundance; the teachers are available or can be procured; the system alone is at fault. I can see no reason why India should not one day rise to the conception of a University, not perhaps as advanced as that which I sketched a few moments ago, but immeasurably higher than anything at present existing in the country; a University which shall gather around it collegiate institutions proud of affiliation, and worthy to enjoy it; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close connection with the parent University, shall feel the inner meaning of a corporate life; where the governing body of the University shall be guided by expert advice, and the teachers shall have a real influence upon teaching; where the courses of study shall be framed for the development, not of the facile automaton, but of the thoughtful mind; where the professors will draw near to the pupils and mould their characters for good; and where the pupils will begin to value knowledge for its own sake, and not as a means to an end. I should like to see this spark of the sacred fire that has been brought across the seas lit in one or two places at least before I

leave the country, and I would confidently leave others to keep alive the flame.

I think that amid much of doubt and discouragement we may see the signs of a better day. The most thoughtful Indians know how urgently it is required. The best Europeans are ready to help it on. Both realise that only by co-operation can the end be attained. It would be absurd to argue that education is a matter for Government only. That is not the meaning of Government supervision or Government control. Education is the interest of the whole people; and under the new system we shall want the co-operation of the Indian just as much as under the old. But it is the best Indian that we shall want just as much as the best European, and in my view we shall obtain him. All his ideals are summed up in making education a reality for his countrymen. Otherwise what will India become? Our interests are the same, for an ignorant India is a discontented India, while the really well-educated Indian is also the best citizen. It is because these truths to me are so self-evident that amid the noisy warfare of words, and even of aspirations, I decline to lose heart, and once more at this last Convocation of the old University elect to take my stand on the platform of confidence and faith. If to any my words seem riddles, or the future dark and the way long, let me quote to him our English poet's assurance, which in many much worse storms has given solace to others as it has done to myself:—

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
  The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
  And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;
  It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
  And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
  Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
  Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

These words contain the hope, the consolation, and the prayer of every man who is struggling for the reform of education in this country.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, SIMLA

On September 20, 1905, the Viceroy delivered the following address at a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla, in which he summed up the Educational policy of his administration. This speech is the natural sequel to that with which he opened the first Simla Conference on September 2, 1901.

I was very much gratified when I learned that it was the desire of the Directors of Public Instruction who are assembled in Conference at Simla that I should attend one of their meetings to say a few words of farewell. This desire was conveyed to me by Mr. Orange in language so flattering that I could not resist it; for he said that he spoke for all the Directors, and that they spoke for the whole service of which they are members. Accordingly I accepted the invitation, and that is why I am here to-day. I feel rather like a general addressing his marshals for the last time, before he unbuckles his sword and retires into private life. For the task which has engaged so much of our energies during the past seven years has been like nothing so much as a campaign, marked by a long series of engagements which we have fought together; and though I am about to resign my commission, you will remain to carry, I hope, the same colours to victory on many another well-won field. To you, therefore, I need make no apology for offering a few final remarks on your own subject. It would almost be an impertinence if I were to address you on any other. In a well-known work of fiction one of the characters is made to groan over that "bore of all bores, whose subject had no beginning, middle, or end—namely, education." Here, however, where we all belong to the same category, I must accept the risk of

inflicting that form of penance on others in the hopeful assurance that I shall not be found guilty by you.

When I came to India, Educational Reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction. I thought so for several reasons. In the first place, vital as is education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise, yet in a country like India, in its present state of development, it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all. For here education is required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things. It is a social and political even more than an intellectual demand; and to it alone can we look to provide a livelihood for our citizens, to train up our public servants, to develop the economic and industrial resources of the country, to fit the people for the share in self-government which is given to them—and which will increase with their deserts, —and to fashion the national character on sound and healthy lines. The man in India who has grasped the educational problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades, and he who can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State.

There is another reason for which Education in India is a peculiarly British responsibility. For it was our advent in the country that brought about that social and moral upheaval of which Western education is both the symbol and the outcome. As regards religion, we sit as a Government in India

> holding no form of creed,
> But contemplating all.

We have deliberately severed religion from politics; and, though we have our own Church or Churches, we

refrain, as an act of public policy, from incorporating Church with State. But we do not therefore lay down that ethics are or should be divorced from the life of the nation, or that society, because it does not rest upon dogmatic theology, should lose the moral basis without which in all ages it must sooner or later fall to pieces. For education is nothing unless it is a moral force. There is morality in secular text-books as well as in sacred texts, in the histories and sayings of great men, in the example of teachers, in the contact between teachers and pupils, in the discipline of the class-room, in the emulation of school life. These are the substitutes in our Indian educational system for the oracles of prophets or the teaching of divines. To them we look to make India and its people better and purer. If we thought that our education were not raising the moral level, we should none of us bestir ourselves so greatly about it. It is because it is the first and most powerful instrument of moral elevation in India that it must for ever remain a primary care of the State. The State may delegate a portion of the burden to private effort or to missionary enterprise; but it cannot throw it altogether aside. So long as our Government is in India what it is, we must continue to control and to correlate educational work, to supply a large portion of the outlay, to create the requisite models, and to set the tone.

As soon as I looked about me, but little investigation was required to show, in the words of a familiar quotation, that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. For years education in India had been muddling along, with no one to look after it at headquarters or to observe its symptoms, till the men who had given up their lives to it were sick at heart and well-nigh in despair. It was not that splendid and self-sacrificing exertions were not being devoted to the task; it was not that any class, European or Indian, was indifferent to its claims, for I believe that in India there is a genuine passion for education among all classes; it was not that

there had been deliberate or conscious neglect. But there was a deplorable lack of co-ordination; there was a vagueness as to fundamental principles; slackness had crept in, standards had depreciated, and what was wanting was the impulse and movement of a new life. It was for these reasons that I threw myself with a burning zeal into the subject of educational reform. I knew the risks that had to be run—there was not one among them that could be apprehended that has not been incurred. I was aware of all the taunts that would be levelled; that we should be accused, when we were merely raising a debased standard, of wanting to shut the doors of education in the face of the people; and, when we felt it our duty to assert the proper control of Government, of desiring to aggrandise the power of the State, and many other equally unfounded charges. But the object seemed to me to be worth the risk. The allies and fellow-workers were there who were only too ready and anxious to join in the struggle, and it merely remained to formulate the plan of action and to go ahead.

For the first two years we surveyed the ground and reconnoitred the position of the opposing forces, and then we began. I look to the meetings of the Simla Conference in the month of September 1901, just four years ago, as the first act in the real campaign. That Conference has often been denounced, by those who knew not the real nature of its labours, as a sort of Star Chamber conclave, that was engaged in some dark and sinister conspiracy. Some of you were present at its meetings, and you know how much of truth there was in that particular charge. I do not hesitate to say that a Conference more independent in its character, more sincere in its aims, or more practical and far-reaching in its results, never met at the headquarters of the Indian Government. The meeting was a body of experts, non-official as well as official, convened in order to save Government from making mistakes, and to assure me that we were advancing upon right lines. Our programme was laid down in the published speech with

which I opened the proceedings. We covered the whole field of educational activity in our researches, and we laid down the clear and definite principles which, so far from being concealed, were published at full length later on in the Education Resolution of March 1904, and which for years to come will guide the policy of the State. Then followed the appointment of a Director-General of Education, most fully justified by the devoted labours, the informed enthusiasm, and the unfailing tact of Mr. Orange. Next in order came the Universities Commission, presided over by my former colleague, Sir T. Raleigh, in 1902. Then followed the Universities legislation of 1903-4, of which, looking back calmly upon it, I say that I do not regret the battle or the storm, since I am firmly convinced that out of them has been born a new life for Higher Education in India. Finally came the comprehensive Resolution of which I have spoken. Since then the policy of reform laid down by the Simla Conference has been carried into execution in every branch of educational effort; until at last the Directors of Public Instruction from every province have been sitting here for a week in conference to compare notes as to what has already been accomplished, and to discuss fresh plans for the future. These are the main landmarks of the great enterprise upon which we have all been employed for so long; and a moment has arrived when it is not impossible to some extent to reckon up the results.

What was the state of affairs that we had to redress? I will try to summarise it. As regards Primary or Elementary Education, *i.e.* education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grow up without any education; only one Indian girl in every forty attends any kind of school. These figures are of course less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national characteristics, and the present

state of advancement of India than they would be in any Western country; but they are important as illustrating, if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found Primary Education suffering from divergence of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. In Secondary Education we found schools receiving the privilege of recognition upon most inadequate tests, and untrained and incompetent teachers imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon their out-of-school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in Secondary Schools further has this deleterious effect, that it reacts upon College work, and affects the whole course of University instruction, of which it is the basis and starting-point. We found these schools in many cases accommodated in wretched buildings, and possessing no provision for the boarding of the pupils. As regards the vernaculars, which must for long be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected and degraded in the pursuit of English, and in many cases very bad English, for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it; but let it rest upon a solid foundation of the indigenous languages, for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease.

But in Higher Education the position was still worse; for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community as of a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated Colleges a low standard of teaching, and a lower of learning; ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings,

the cutting down of fees in the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally, coming to the Universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality, while steadily increasing the volume, of the human output, students driven like sheep from lecture-room to lecture-room and examination to examination, text-books badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with overswollen numbers, selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers—a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram.

Of course there were better and reassuring features in the picture, and there were parts of the country where the merits greatly exceeded the defects. But we had to correct the worst even more than to stimulate the best, and like a doctor it was our duty to diagnose the unsound parts of the body rather than to busy ourselves with the sound. Moreover, there were some faults that were equally patent everywhere. It is recorded of the Emperor Aurungzeb, after he had seized the throne of the Moghul Empire, that he publicly abused his old tutor for not having prepared him properly for these great responsibilities. "Thus," he said, "did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words." That is exactly the fault that we found with every phase of Indian Education as we examined it. Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas. The grain was being spilled and squandered, while the husks were being devoured. I remember a passage in the writings of Herbert Spencer in which he says that to prepare us for complete living is the true function of education. That is a conception which is perhaps as yet beyond the reach of the majority of those whom we are trying to educate in this country. But in the rut into which it had sunk, I doubt if European Education in India, as

we were conducting it, could be described as a preparation for living at all, except in the purely materialistic sense, where unhappily it was too true. But of real living, the life of the intellect, the character, the soul, I fear that the glimpses that were obtainable were rare and dim.

Of course all these tendencies could not be corrected straight away. It would be a futile and arrogant boast to say that we have reformed Indian Education. There is equal scope for educational reformers now, to-morrow, next day, and always. Education is never reformed. It may advance, or remain stationary, or recede. It may also advance on right lines or on wrong lines. Our claim is merely to have rescued it from the wrong track, and given it a fresh start on the right one. If we have set up a few milestones on the path of true progress, we shall have done something for it, and perhaps made further advance easier for our successors.

What I think we may claim to have effected has been the following. In Primary Education we have realised that improvement means money; we have laid down that Primary Education must be a leading charge on provincial revenues; and in order to supply the requisite impetus, we gave in our last Budget a very large permanent annual grant of 35 lakhs to be devoted to that purpose alone. This will be the real starting-point of an advance that ought never to be allowed henceforward to slacken. Most of the money will go in buildings, to begin with, and a good deal in maintenance afterwards. Thousands of new Primary Schools are already opening their doors under these auspices, and in a few years' time the results should be very noteworthy. In building we lay stress upon the provision of suitable and airy school-houses in place of the dark rooms and squalid sheds in which the children had previously been taught. Training schools for teachers are similarly springing up or being multiplied in every direction. We have defined the nature of the object-lessons that ought to be taught to the children in Primary Schools, and the courses of study and the books that are required for the instruction

of the cultivating classes. We have everywhere raised the pay of primary teachers where this was inadequate, and are teaching them that their duty is to train the faculties of their pupils, and not to compel them to the listless repetition of phrases in which the poor children find no meaning. I look as the result to this policy to see a great development in Elementary Education in the near future. It is apt to be neglected in India in favour of the louder calls and the more showy results of Higher Education. Both are equally necessary; but in the structure of Indian society one is the foundation, and the other the coping-stone; and we who are responsible must be careful not to forget the needs of the voiceless masses while we provide for the interests of the more highly favoured minority who are better able to protect themselves.

In Secondary Education the faults were largely the same, and the remedies must be the same also. More teachers are the first desideratum, more competent teachers the second, more inspectors the third. The increase that we have everywhere effected in the inspecting staff is remarkable. Next comes reform in courses of study and buildings. All these necessities are summed up in the duty, which we have undertaken, of laying down sound tests for official recognition. From this we pass on to the development of the commercial and industrial sides of these schools as against the purely literary, since there are thousands of boys in them who must look to their education to provide them with a practical livelihood rather than to lead them to a degree; and above all to the reduction of examinations. That is the keynote everywhere. Have your tests, sift out the good from the bad, furnish the incentive of healthy competition. But remember that the Indian boy is a human being with a mind to be nurtured and a soul to be kept alive; and do not treat him as a mechanical drudge, or as a performing animal, which has to go at stated intervals through the unnatural task to which its trainer has laboriously taught it to conform.

I hope that the Government of India will not be indifferent to the claims of Secondary Education in the future. When the Universities and the Colleges have been put straight, we must look to the feeders, and these feeders are the High Schools. Indeed we cannot expect to have good Colleges without good schools. I am not sure, if a vote were taken among the intelligent middle classes of this country, that they would not sooner see money devoted to Secondary Education than to any other educational object. The reason is that it is the basis of all industrial or professional occupation in India. There is just a danger that between the resonant calls of Higher Education, and the pathetic small voice of Elementary Education, the claims of Secondary Education may be overlooked: and I therefore venture to give it this parting testimonial.

When we come to Higher Education, our policy, though based on identical principles, assumes a wider scope, and has, I hope, already effected an even more drastic change. It is very difficult to carry out substantial reforms in Higher Education in India, because of the suspicion that we encounter among the educated classes that we really desire to restrict their opportunities and in some way or other to keep them down. There is of course no ground whatever for this suspicion. Not only does it run counter to the entire trend of British character, and to all the teachings of British history, but it would be a short-sighted and stupid policy, even if it were adopted. For education, to whatever extent it may be directed or controlled, is essentially an organic, and not an artificial process; and no people, particularly a highly intelligent and ambitious people, like the educated classes in India, could possibly be confined, so to speak, in a particular educational compartment or chamber, because the Government was foolish enough to try and turn the key upon them. What has been in our minds, though it has not always been easy to explain it to others has been, firstly, the conviction that those who were getting Higher Education were getting the wrong

sort of it, because they were merely training the memory at the expense of all the other faculties of the mind, and that it could not be good for a nation that its intellect should be driven into these lifeless and soulless grooves; and, secondly, the belief that reform was to be sought by making educationalists more responsible for Education in every department, giving them power on senates and syndicates, improving the quality of the teaching staff, and providing for the expert inspection of Colleges and schools. Let me put it in a sentence. Higher Education ought not to be run either by politicians or by amateurs. It is a science—the science of human life and conduct—in which we must give a fair hearing and a reasonable chance to the Professor.

If our reforms are looked at in this light, it will be seen that they are based upon a uniform and logical principle. We swept away the old overgrown Senates or bodies of fellows, and reconstituted them on lines which should make educational interests predominate in the government of the Universities. Similarly we placed experts in the majority on the executive committees or Syndicates. It is these bodies who will draw up the new courses, prescribe the text-books, and frame the future standards of education. Of course they may go wrong, and Government retains the indispensable power of putting them right if they do so. But the initial and principal responsibility is theirs; and if they cannot make a better thing of Higher Education in India, then no one can. Similarly we carry the expert into the *mofussil.* If we are to improve the affiliated institutions, we must first prescribe, as we have done, sound and definite conditions of affiliation, and then we must send round sympathetic inspecting officers to detect local shortcomings, to offer advice, and to see that the new conditions are observed. Simultaneously, if sustained efforts are made, as we are making them, to improve the quality of the teachers, and give them opportunities when on furlough of studying other systems; and if at the other end of the scale we provide for proper enter-

tainment of the boys in well-managed hostels or boarding-houses, then it seems to me that we have created both the constitutional and the academic machinery by which reform can be pursued, and that, if it be not accomplished, it must be for some reason which we have failed to discern. Anyhow I can see nothing in the objects or processes that I have described to which the most sensitive or critical of Indian intelligences need object; and the most hopeful guarantee of success is to be found, in my view, in the fact that the best and most experienced Indian authorities are entirely on our side.

Personally, therefore, I regard our University legislation and the reform that will spring from it as a decree of emancipation. It is the setting free for the service of Education, by placing them in authoritative control over Education, of the best intellects and agencies that can be enlisted in the task, and it is the casting off and throwing away of the miserable gyves and manacles that had been fastened upon the limbs of the youth of India, stunting their growth, crippling their faculties, and tying them down. In my view, we are entitled to the hearty co-operation of all patriotic Indians in the task, for it is their people that we are working for, and their future that we are trying to safeguard and enlarge. Already I think that this is very widely recognised. The old cries have to a large extent died away, and, among the valedictory messages and tributes which I have received in such numbers from native sources during the past few weeks, have been many which placed in the forefront the services which I am generously credited with having rendered to the cause of Indian Education. One of the most gratifying features in this renascence in the history of Indian Education, as I hope it may in time deserve to be called, has been the stimulus that has been given to private liberality, showing that Indian Princes and noblemen are keenly alive to the needs of the people, and are in cordial sympathy with the movement that we have striven to inaugurate. The Raja of Nabha called upon the Sikh community to rouse

themselves and put the Khalsa College at Amritsar on a proper footing for the education of their sons, and they responded with contributions of 20 lakhs. In Bengal there have been handsome gifts for the proposed new College at Ranchi. The Aligarh Trustees continue to improve their magnificent College, and last year, I believe, achieved a record subscription list in their conference at Lucknow. In the United Provinces, the enthusiasm of Sir J. La Touche has kindled a corresponding zeal in others. The College at Bareilly is to be shifted from a corner of the High School buildings to a new building on a fine site given by the Nawab of Rampur. When I was at Lucknow in the spring I saw the site of the new residential College in the Badshah Bagh to which the Maharaja of Bulrampur has given a donation of 3 lakhs. Government has not been behindhand in similar liberality; and apart from the 25 lakhs which we promised and are giving to assist the Universities in the work of reconstruction, we have assisted the purchase of sites for University buildings in many places, and are prepared to help in other ways. It is a truism in Higher Education as elsewhere that the first condition of progress is money, and this is being provided both by Government and by private effort in no stinted measure.

I might detain you much longer by discussing the various measures that we have taken with regard to other branches of Education in India, for it is to be confessed that the aspirations which I set before myself and before the Simla Conference were not confined to the sphere of Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education alone, but embraced the whole field of educational reform. There is no corner of it where we have not laboured and are not labouring. We have not in our zeal for Indian Education forgotten the cause of European and Eurasian Education in this country. We have revised the Code, we have made a most careful examination of the so-called Hill Schools, and are re-establishing the best among them on an assured basis, we are

giving handsome grants-in-aid and scholarships, we are appointing separate inspectors for these institutions, and are starting a special Training College for teachers.

Then there is a class of Education which deserves and has attracted our particular attention, viz. that which is intended to qualify its recipients for the professional occupations of Indian life. Here our Agricultural College at Pusa, which is intended to be the parent of similar institutions in every other province, each equipped with a skilled staff and adequate funds, has been specially devised to provide at the same time a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science and practical instruction in estate management and farm work. These institutions will, I hope, turn out a body of young men who will spread themselves throughout India, carrying into the management of states and estates, into private enterprise and into Government employ, the trained faculties with which their college courses will have supplied them. Agriculture in India is the first and capital interest of this huge continent, and agriculture, like every other money-earning interest, must rest upon Education.

Neither have we forgotten Female Education, conscious that man is to a large extent what woman makes him, and that an educated mother means educated children. Since the Simla Conference Bengal has already doubled the number of girls under instruction. The female inspecting staff has been overhauled in most provinces, and some ladies possessing high qualifications have been sent out from England. Good model girls' schools and good training schools for the female teachers are a desideratum everywhere. It will take a long time to make substantial progress. But the forward movement has begun.

There remains the subject of Technical Education, which has occupied an immense amount of our attention both at the Simla Conference and ever since. We have had commissions, and reports, and inquiries. We have addressed local Governments and studied their replies. But we are only slowly evolving the principles under

which technical instruction can be advantageously pursued in a country where the social and industrial conditions are what they are in India. Whether we look at the upper or at the lower end of the scale, this difficulty is equally apparent. People wonder why Mr. Tata's Institute of Science comes so slowly into being, and in a country where it is the custom to attribute anything that goes wrong to the Government, all sorts of charges have been brought against us of apathy or indifference or obstruction. No one would more readily acknowledge than Mr. Tata himself that so far from discouragement or opposition, he has met with nothing at the hands of Government but sympathy and support. But Mr. Tata wisely wants not merely to start the magnificent conception of his father, but to make it practical and to ensure its success, and I can assure you that the rival views that prevail as to the best method of accommodating this great idea to the necessities of India are extraordinary. We have experienced similar difficulties in our own smaller undertakings. As is generally known, we have instituted a number of technical scholarships of £150 each for Indian students in Europe and America; but, strange as it may seem, it has not invariably been easy at first to find the candidates qualified to fill them. However, we now have a number of Indian scholars from Bengal who are studying mining at Birmingham; and our latest step was to grant three scholarships for textile industries in Bombay. Other attempts will follow, and in a short time there will, in my view, be no lack either of candidates or subjects. Similarly with Industrial Schools, which we have been anxious to start on a large scale for the practical encouragement of local industries, there is the widest diversity of opinion as to the principles and the type. For it must be remembered that although India is a country with strong traditions of industrial skill and excellence, with clever artisans, and with an extant machinery of trade-guilds and apprentices, these are constituted upon a caste basis which does not readily

admit of expansion, while the industries themselves are, as a rule, localised and small, rendering co-ordination difficult. We are, however, about to make an experiment on a large scale in Bombay and Bengal, and I have every hope that upon the labours and researches of the past few years posterity will be able to build.

Upon these and many other subjects I might discourse to you at length. But you are better acquainted with them than I am, and I have addressed myself to-day not so much to details as to the principles that have underlain the great movement of educational activity upon which we have together been engaged. To you and to your successors, I must now commit the task. It is a work which may well engage your best faculties, and be the proud ambition of a lifetime. On the stage where you are employed there is infinite scope for administrative energy, and, what is better, for personal influence; while in the background of all your labours stands the eternal mystery of the East, with its calm and immutable traditions, but its eager and passionate eyes. What the future of Indian Education may be neither you nor I can tell. It is the future of the Indian race, in itself the most hazardous though absorbing of speculations. As I dream of what Education in India is to be or become, I recall the poet's lines :—

> Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
> Far far ahead is all her seamen know.
> And where the land she travels from? Away
> Far far behind is all that they can say.

In the little space of navigable water for which we are responsible between the mysterious past and the still more mysterious future, our duty has been to revise a chart that was obsolete and dangerous, to lay a new course for the vessel, and to set her helm upon the right tack.

EURASIANS

ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA

A DEPUTATION from the Anglo-Indian Association (representing the domiciled Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Community throughout India) was received by the Viceroy at Calcutta, on March 23, 1900. He spoke as follows:—

Since I received an address from your Association more than a year ago, shortly after I had taken up my present office, I can truthfully say that the appeals and claims and prospects of the community which you represent have occupied a good deal of my attention. I never fail to read, or to study, anything that bears upon the subject, or to converse with those who are qualified to give me useful information. These efforts on my part to arrive at the truth, and to analyse the difficult problem of your future, rest upon the double basis of personal sympathy—since no man with a heart can fail to be touched by the misfortunes of a community, partly, if not mainly, of his own race, who appear to have fallen upon hard times—and of political interest—since no Viceroy of India can be indifferent to the fortunes of a section of the population, increasing in numbers, but apparently not increasing *pari passu* in wealth, contentment, or opportunity. Every Viceroy, from Lord Canning downwards, has gazed at the problem, and has been left sympathetic but puzzled. Some, like Lord Lytton, have tried to do something positive. Others have felt the difficulty of State intervention. That I am

receiving you to-day is, I hope, an evidence that I am not anxious to be included in the passive category, or to bow you out with a compliment and a smile. Nothing would have been easier for me than to acknowledge your representations, and to have returned the civil but stereotyped reply that they will receive the careful consideration of Government. Of that reception they are in any case certain. But if I go beyond, and consent, as I have consented, to meet you here to-day, and to listen to a statement of your troubles from the lips of your accredited spokesmen, and if I refrain from the language of mere perfunctory politeness in reply, then I must claim the liberty to speak to you with perfect candour, conscious that you will not resent anything that is said to you in good faith and with sincerely friendly intentions, and that it is bad policy for the Government of India and the community which you represent to go on misunderstanding each other for ever, as they will continue to do if both parties evade the real issues, and show no inclination to grapple with the facts.

Now I observe that the Society which you represent has recently acquired a new name, and is designated the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. The choice of this name is the latest phase in a long contention over the question of the nomenclature that it would be best and wisest for you to adopt. In the various stages of this discussion, I find that the names Eurasians, East Indians, Indo-Britons, Statutory Natives of India, Domiciled British and Europeans, have all at one time or another been, and to some extent still are, employed. Though I myself think that controversies over nomenclature are the most barren of all human disputes—since in the long run the world judges men not by what they call themselves, but by what they are—yet it would appear that this has been regarded as a most vital question by many of your number, and that almost as much energy has been expended upon it as upon the practical discussion of the future. I may be short-sighted; but I do not myself

see why there should be any deep and insidious sting—these are the words which I have found in the utterances or writings of more than one of your spokesmen—in the name Eurasian as applied to persons of mixed blood or descent—though I am far from contending that I have any right to expect my views to be shared by any one else—nor do I understand the great and widespread anxiety to discover a new label. Above all, I am compelled to say that if I were to judge by the natural meaning of words, I should have no idea of what the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association could mean. Anglo-Indian is a phrase which is applied in popular acceptance to a particular individual and society, British as a rule in origin, which spends its life, official, professional, or otherwise, in India, and as a rule finally goes home. Thus when we speak of Anglo-Indian officials, judges, clubs, newspapers, opinion, and so on, everybody understands exactly what is meant. You have a perfect right to take the same name if you please, and to some extent it covers the component elements of your Society. But I am not certain that you do not rather confuse some of your friends and well-wishers by adopting a designation that in popular parlance means something else, whilst the title certainly does not become any the more—on the contrary, I think that it becomes the less—intelligible by having the epithet Imperial prefixed to it. True and loyal and devoted sons of the Empire we know you, and your history has shown you to be. But so are we all; and why your Society should especially require the adjective Imperial to describe it I have never seen explained. But there is another result of the expression of your designation and composition which is of more practical consequence. I believe that you desire in the main to call attention to the claims and to focus the aspirations of what has hitherto been called the Eurasian community, although there is also the case of many English or European families domiciled, perhaps born and bred, in the country, whose blood has never been commingled with a native strain, but whose interests

you desire equally to promote. But the result of this very elastic classification appears to me to be not clearness but confusion ; since, when you make your demands, that which applies to your constituents at one pole, bears little or no relation to those who are at the other. The arguments from race do not, for instance, apply to the domiciled Europeans; and the interests, and employment, and prospects of the latter depend upon conditions wholly apart from those that retard the advance of the man of mixed descent. Your Society, in fact, as at present constituted, rests upon two bases which have *a priori* little in common with each other, viz. domicile and race; and the considerations that are apposite in the one case, are often irrelevant in the other. Whilst, therefore, by casting your net so wide, you no doubt envelop a larger haul of fish, I am less confident that you advance the general interests of your clients, which are, after all, the main object for which you exist.

I have only one other word of advice to give before I pass on to an examination of your specific claims. If I were one of your Directors, I almost think that in the interests of your cause I should move a motion for a withdrawal of the pamphlet in which you bring your case before the public. The case has so much to recommend it in its intrinsic features that it seems a pity that it should be weakened by exaggeration and by declamation, since such an attitude cannot but prejudice your chances. To suggest that the Government of India and the India Office are engaged in a deep and malignant conspiracy to deprive you of your birthright, that they desire, or that any one else desires, to stamp upon you the brand of inferiority or subordination, or that as a community you are hunted down and proscribed—phrases which very fairly represent the spirit of some of your publications—is, in my judgment, very ill-judged and quite untrue. Such statements are sufficient to set people against you. Your object should be to attract, not to alienate, public support; and you will do this by sober reasoning, and not by angry rhetoric. There are

pages of the pamphlet in which your claims are fairly and moderately stated. This seems to be the case when you are engaged upon a Deputation, as you have been this afternoon. But when you are talking among yourselves, you seem, if I may say so without offence, to boil over in a rather superfluous fashion; and on such occasions things are said which, I am afraid, would hardly stand the test of a critical examination.

There is another suggestion that I would make in passing. Who are your clients and what are their numbers? I observe that in the pamphlet they are represented by one of the speakers, whose words are reported, as being over a million strong. On the other hand, in an able essay that I read the other day upon the Eurasian question by a Mr. Nundy, which I would commend to the careful attention of every one here present, I find that the total of that community was estimated by the writer as 120,000. There is a wide margin between these two extremes. Of whom does this margin consist? When you call yourselves Anglo-Indians, do you include Englishmen who are not permanently domiciled in India? Do you include domiciled foreigners of other races, and, if so, how can they be termed Anglo-Indians? And do you embrace Eurasians of, for instance, Portuguese descent, and, if so, how can they fall into the Anglo-Indian category? Would it not be well to let the public know who, and of what numerical strength, are the various classes for whom you plead, and who are included under the common heading which you have decided to adopt?

From these preliminary observations, which, if they have been critical in character, have assuredly not been unfriendly in intention, I pass to an examination of the specific proposals which have, from time to time, been put forward by your spokesmen, and the majority of which have been repeated in the statements to which I have just listened.

The first of these is the proposal to employ Eurasians on a larger scale in the Indian Army by the constitution

of a special regiment or regiments enlisted from that class. Of course, as it is, Eurasians are frequently accepted as recruits, a point as to which it would be well if your spokesmen in the pamphlet agreed with each other; for, whereas one of them states that thousands have been so admitted, another declares that this admission on sufferance, which he implies to be rarely exercised, is an insult to your people. Now, in this context, I frequently see mention made of the loyalty and bravery shown by Eurasians during the Mutiny—and of this fact there cannot be a shadow of a doubt—and by the Eurasian Corps that were raised in that time. But it does not follow therefrom that the Corps were a success; and, as a matter of fact, they were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870, on the grounds that they were as costly as a British force, that the same confidence was not reposed in them, and that there were not sufficient recruits forthcoming (I think this a very remarkable and dispiriting reflection) to maintain a total strength of only 700 men. Nevertheless, at intervals ever since the proposal has been made or revived that the experiment in some form or another should be repeated; for there have never been wanting friends of your cause in the Government of India, who have been anxious to find what opportunity they could for the employment of a class that has so large a claim upon our sympathy. The formation of a regiment is, however, I need hardly say, in the main, a military question; and when I add that the last five Commanders-in-Chief of the Army in India without exception—and I believe that the series extends unbroken to an even more distant period—have been opposed to the experiment, you will perhaps understand how it is that it has not greatly prospered. It was proposed at one time that a company of garrison artillery should be raised from Eurasians; but the first artillery soldier in India of the day, who happened to be in high office,[1] declined to support the scheme on the ground that it would be more expensive

[1] Sir Charles Nairne, Acting Commander-in-Chief.

and less efficient than a corresponding European force. When I arrived in India, these topics were still under discussion, and I am happy to have been instrumental in sending, with the assistance of some of my colleagues who shared my desire to help you, a despatch to the Secretary of State last year, in which we proposed the experimental raising of a Eurasian regiment in India. This is the first time, I believe, that such a proposal has ever gone home with the assent of a majority of the Government of India. The Secretary of State, who has quite recently replied, has been unable to accept our proposal; and I see no reason why you should not be acquainted with the main reasons. The initial cost of such a regiment would be 2½ lakhs, the annual recurring cost 5½ lakhs; and it has been felt unfair to place this increase of burden upon the Indian taxpayer, unless a responsible assurance could be given that there would be a commensurate increase in our military strength. So far this assurance has not been forthcoming. There were also subsidiary difficulties about the scale of pay, not merely in the Military, but also, as a probable consequence, in the Civil services, and about the necessity for legislation, since Europeans in India cannot be enlisted for local service without the passing of a Bill through the British Parliament, a fence which even friendly Secretaries of State sometimes find it difficult to surmount. Such has been the fate that has attended our proposal. I am sorry that it has not fared better. But you will do well to look facts in the face, and to realise that Governments are compelled to regard this question to a large extent from the utilitarian point of view; and that, until you can convince them that a Eurasian regiment, which would cost quite as much as, if not more than, a British regiment, will be at least as efficient for military purposes, they are hardly likely to give it to you for the sake of sentiment, or even of political expediency alone. As regards the subsidiary suggestion which you have submitted this afternoon for the formation of a Eurasian Army Hospital Corps, the

same difficulties apply. Eurasians could never serve for the rates of pay that are now given to the native equivalent; nor could the subordinate duties, such as those of the *bhistis*, bearers, and sweepers, be carried out by a Eurasian Corps. The long and the short of it is that, for the present at any rate, the objections to Eurasian enlistment in the regular army are held at home to outweigh the advantages. I would gladly reverse this current of opinion if I could. But it rests, believe me, not upon any prejudice or hostility—there is not a trace of that—but upon expert advice which it is difficult to contest, or to overturn. At the same time, if you were to submit your proposals as to an Army Hospital Corps in a definite and intelligible shape, I shall be prepared to place them before the Military Authorities, though I can give you no assurance as to the reception that they may meet with.

I pass to the question of the employment of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians upon Railways. Last year, I caused a letter to be addressed to the Presidents of the various associations throughout India that represent your cause, drawing their attention to the great opening that appears to be present to your community for employment, notably in the Traffic, Locomotive, and Engineering Departments, and to the meagre advantage that has so far been taken of these facilities. The figures show that out of a total of 308,000 persons employed upon Railways in India, only 7000 are Eurasians, or less than 2½ per cent. I am glad to have heard this afternoon that you have taken serious notice of this suggestion, and I hope that you will not let the matter drop. I doubt, however, if you are sufficiently aware of the possibilities. In the three Departments that I have named, there are some 1150 posts on every thousand miles of line in India, the pay ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 400 a month, or 25,000 posts in all, for which Anglo-Indians and Eurasians are free and qualified to compete. Why do you not enter for these appointments? Why, on the contrary, do you allow the

European and Native employees to increase at the rate, during the past year, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent respectively, while your numbers have only increased at the rate of less than $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent? You are mistaken if you suppose that the Railway administration can ever give you a fixed proportion of these appointments for which you can qualify at leisure. Railways are commercial undertakings, and they are apt to be somewhat indifferent to sentiment. I can but point out to you the broad, and not unremunerative, avenue that is here afforded to your energies, and invite you to profit by it more materially than you appear hitherto to have done.

I next turn to your claims as regards appointments in the Civil Service. I understand you to complain that you no longer have the share that you once enjoyed in the higher ranks of the Public Service, and that in respect of the lower ranks you are handicapped by competition with natives of this country. You claim accordingly that a certain proportion of appointments in all ranks of the Public Service should be reserved for you, provided that you can satisfy the requisite intellectual tests. Now I might remind you that the days to which you refer were times when the number of Eurasians was much less than it is at present, when the competition was smaller, and when the connection between European and Eurasian was more immediate and direct. I might also point to the case of Eurasian Engineers who are even now enjoying very high appointments and pay. But it is sufficient to note that your appeal ignores *in toto* two landmarks in recent history, which I am afraid that no amount of special pleading—I use the term in no invidious sense—can avail to submerge. The first of these was the Report of the Public Service Commission, upon which the Eurasian community was represented, and which deliberately laid it down as a broad principle, subsequently accepted by the Secretary of State, and since acted upon by the Government of India, that there should be two classes of the Public Service, the Imperial Service, recruited in England, though not necessarily

from Englishmen, and the Provincial and Subordinate Services, recruited in India. If Indians desire to join the former service, they have to go to England, and to pass the examinations there in order to do so. The same opportunities are open to yourselves. It is simply impossible to throw over the findings of the Commission, and to ignore the entire principle upon which the Public Service is recruited by creating a special exemption in your or in any other case.

The second landmark is the principle laid down by the Secretary of State in 1893 about simultaneous examinations. Under that ruling, you enjoy precisely the same opportunities, as regards the competitive test, as do any other communities in this country. You are equally eligible to employment with them. Nay, the Government have gone further, and have in practice in many of the Subordinate Departments reserved a special proportion of places for yourselves. In the Subordinate Accounts Department, in the Provincial Branch of the Survey of India, in the Salt Department, in the Customs Department, in the Opium Department, I find that a large proportion of the appointments is either reserved to domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, or is open to them. Nor do these facilities always pass without protest, or meet with the prompt justification that might be desired. In the Opium Department, where three-fourths of the appointments are open to your community, the Government of India have twice in the last ten years received protests from the Bengal Government in favour of recruitment from England, on the ground that sufficiently qualified candidates were not forthcoming out here. For a similar reason a few years ago the Government of India were obliged to ask that a larger proportion of appointments not reserved for the Indian Civil Service in the Finance Department, in the Accounts Branch of the Public Works Department, and in the Traffic Branch of the Railways, should be recruited from home. Now it is no good to represent these proceedings as an evidence of spite, or unfairness on the part of

Government. They are nothing of the sort. We are more than anxious to employ you. But how is it possible to create special privileges in your favour when you do not even take advantage of those which are already open to you? I am ready to select any branch of the Public Service, and to scrutinise its composition, with an eye that is friendly and even partial to your aspirations. There are some quarters in which I may be able to help you; but, if I am to do so, I must at least demand some justification from those whom I am invited to favour.

The question of Education is the next upon which I will say a word. Upon this point your pamphlet, to which you have referred me, contains a number of statements which strike me as being very rash, and which I, for my part, cannot endorse. You actually say that no experienced statesman in India will deny that the time has long since arrived when the Government should abolish the Education Department and all State Colleges in India, and should devote to Primary Education the vast sums squandered on Higher Education, and leave private enterprise to carry it on. I may compromise my own reputation with the author of this astonishing paragraph; but I am afraid that I cannot accept his conclusions. Indeed, I understand that you do not altogether accept them yourselves, since you have elsewhere invited my support for Hill Schools for Anglo-Indian boys, who, I suppose, would hardly be content if I were only to provide them there with a primary standard of education. You say that Government treats your schools with a parsimony that is almost scandalous. When I read these words, I referred to Mr. Cotton's last Quinquennial Review of Indian Education, which was issued last year, and I found that the pupils in those schools were steadily increasing, and that the grants to them both from Provincial Revenues and from Government were largely on the increase also. More recently I have heard a complaint as to the unsuitability of the High School and Calcutta University Examination for Anglo-

Indian boys, and as to the desirability of introducing the Cambridge University Local Examinations in this country. Before pronouncing upon the suggestion, one would have to co-ordinate the value of such an examination with the examinations already established in India. The suggestion has, I think, some merit; and it is undoubtedly desirable to afford to your children the chance of passing an examination that possesses a common standard of value. But if you have a system of Universities in a country, I see some difficulty in giving them the go-by altogether, and in regulating your education by the standards of a foreign institution.

When you speak about Technical Education, you employ a phrase which is on everybody's lips, but which not everybody takes the trouble to understand. I am quite in favour of a training which will fit a young man for industrial employment, but I do not feel at all clear that the best method of attaining that end is by introducing the teaching of special trades into the curriculum of our schools. I think that technical instruction should follow at a later stage; and, whilst we are quite willing to give State aid to encourage any such enterprise, I think that local administrations and private initiative may be expected to help Government in a matter in which we have not the means to take a big plunge ourselves. I understand from your statement to-day that you do not substantially disagree with these views, and that you are taking steps for the establishment of allied technical institutions.

As regards the Hill Schools for colonisation I do not know what part of the world you propose to colonise, or what sort of education you would suggest. I believe that a Eurasian agricultural colony was tried in Southern India a few years ago and proved a failure. I do not draw from this any inference as to other or larger schemes: and I am glad to hear that you propose to renew the experiment. It seems to me that Eurasians might be very useful in the peopling of many blank spaces on the map of the British Empire outside of

India—say in South Africa; and that the idea is worthy of careful examination. But it is hardly in a shape to be submitted to Government until it has attained a much more definite form.

I have now dealt with all of the suggestions that you have put before me. There are many other suggestions, I daresay neither novel nor exciting, which, if I had time, I might be willing to place before yourselves. There are many forms of handicraft in India, mechanical and otherwise, for which your community seems to me to be well adapted, but all the talk about which generally ends in smoke. Why a speaker at a public meeting in Calcutta should find the greatest difficulty in getting his speech accurately reported because there are so few competent shorthand writers, why mill-owners should have to import mechanics from the British Isles, why bandmasters and bandsmen should have to be imported from Europe, why the supervisors of Native labour in workshops and factories should be often of similar origin, why the higher classes of domestic servants are so commonly drawn from communities other than your own—are all problems which puzzle me considerably, but which your community might, I think, assist to solve. The fact is, I suspect, that its numbers are being gradually bisected into two classes, those who are so near to the European standard, that they have not the slightest difficulty in obtaining lucrative employment, and who, therefore, do not protest; and those who are gradually drifting away from it, and wish to preserve a superiority which they are scarcely competent to maintain. I know that there is no more unpopular philosophy to preach to any community than Self-help; and if such a doctrine were to imply in the present case that the Government are resolved to remain apathetic while you prosecute your own fortunes, I would not for a moment endorse it. On the contrary, I am anxious to do you every good turn that I properly and legitimately can, and my action in respect of regiments and railways has sufficiently vindicated my intentions. But

if I am to have any success, I must call upon you to formulate your programme with definiteness and precision, to eschew fallacious rhetoric, to view your position in its true perspective, and to convince the Government of India that in aiding you they are aiding a community to whom they are not merely bound by ties of race or sentiment, but who are qualified to bear their full share in the work-a-day competition of modern life.

FAMINE

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 28, 1900

IT has been made abundantly clear that the main source of disturbance in the calculations, both of the past and the ensuing financial year, has been Famine. But for famine Mr. Dawkins would have had a great surplus, and might have introduced what is generally known as a popular Budget. Let me endeavour to give you an idea of the extent to which this cyclonic disturbance has affected, and is still affecting, India. I put on one side for the moment the fact, which is known to you all from the weekly Gazette, that we are now engaged in relieving, in one form or another, nearly 5,000,000 persons; more than the entire population of many not inconsiderable States. Such a thing has never been heard of before in the history of Indian, or indeed of any other famine. How greatly this famine transcends in importance its predecessor may be illustrated by the fact that in the Central Provinces, the centre of the deepest scarcity both in the famine of 1897 and now, whereas at the height of the 1897 famine, *i.e.* at the close of the month of May, less than 700,000 persons were in the receipt of relief, on the present occasion 1½ million of persons are already receiving relief at the end of March. In one district alone, that of Raipur, over 30 per cent of the whole population are upon relief, *i.e.* 500,000 persons out of a total of 1,600,000 are being supported by the State.

In four districts of Bombay between 20 and 30 per cent of the entire population, in three districts of Berar 20 per cent, and in the Ajmere-Merwara Division 20 per cent, are on relief.

But let me represent the severity of the affliction to you from another point of view. I see it sometimes stated, and the critics of British rule in India are very fond of this argument, that the real causes of recurring famine are not the failure of rain, the exhaustion of the soil, or the loss of crops, but the pressure of land taxation and the drain upon the resources of the people. Now I cannot pause to-day to discuss the question of land assessments. But I may point out, in terms of pounds, shillings, and pence, exactly what a great Indian drought does involve in the destruction of agricultural wealth; and those who hear the figures may then judge how far any revision or modification of our revenue system, putting aside the question whether it be or be not desirable or feasible, would of itself alone enable an agricultural population to stand the shock of a calamity at once so sudden and so devastating.

The wheat crop of India averages 6,000,000 tons, worth at least £24,000,000. This year the estimate received from the provinces point to a crop of about 3,000,000 tons. Even if we allow that the money value of these 3,000,000 tons in a famine year is greater than in an ordinary year, we yet cannot put the losses of the Indian agriculturist on this one crop alone at less than from £8,000,000 to £10,000,000. Take another great staple crop—cotton. The Indian cotton crop averages in value £12,000,000 sterling. This year its outside value does not exceed £5,000,000, or a loss of £7,000,000 sterling. A third great crop is oilseed, namely, linseed and rapeseed. It ordinarily covers 18 millions of acres. In the present year this crop is practically non-existent outside of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, and Oudh.

These losses, great as they are in relation to the annual produce of India as a whole, are still greater

in relation to the produce of the famine region, to which they are practically confined. I will take the case of a single province. A very careful return of this year's harvest of food-grains has just been received from Bombay. On a very moderate computation, the loss to the cultivators in that Presidency, as compared with the value of the harvests in preceding years, has been £15,000,000. They have also lost about £4,000,000 on their cotton crop. What they have further lost in the matter of cattle it is impossible to conjecture, but the figures must be enormous.

These facts appear to me to be sufficient of themselves to explain how it is that the present famine is so terrible and the distress so great; and how impossible it would be for any Government to anticipate the consequences of a visitation of nature on so gigantic and ruinous a scale.

Now let me turn to the financial aspect of the famine. The cost of famine to the Government of India is incurred in a number of different ways: in direct famine grants to the local Governments, in the decrease of revenue arising from suspensions and remissions, in indirect expenditure, and in increase of prices. Summarising these heads, I find that the cost of the present famine, partly estimated, partly already incurred, will be somewhat as follows:—Famine relief in the past year, 308¼ lakhs, in the ensuing year 500¼ lakhs; loss of revenue in the past year, 236 lakhs, in the ensuing year, 121 lakhs; compensation for dearness of provisions and increase in cost of food-supplies in the past year, 37 lakhs, in the ensuing year, 71 lakhs, or a grand total of over 12¾ crores, or nearly 8½ millions sterling. To this should be added the temporary cost of other direct charges, such as loans to Native States, amounting in the past year to 48 lakhs, in the ensuing year, to 75 lakhs, and agricultural advances amounting to 37¾ and 20 lakhs in the two years respectively.

So much for the financial aspect of famine. Perhaps the figures of cost, when viewed alongside of those of

the numbers of persons affected, and the loss of crops involved, may give to the public some sort of idea what a great famine in India means. That to some extent its magnitude has already been realised in England is, I think, clear from the liberal contributions that are now pouring in upon us from British sources. I am confident that I shall not err if I take advantage of the present opportunity to express our united acknowledgments to the Lord Mayor of London, in particular, and to the Lord Mayors and Mayors of other great towns in Great Britain and Ireland, for the patriotic readiness with which they have inaugurated the various relief funds, and also to the generous British public for the splendid manner in which, in the midst of all their distractions, they have remembered our sorrows, and are, weekly and daily, giving of their substance for India's relief. We have done our best for them in respect of their war; and they are nobly repaying the obligation in respect of our famine. Nor must we fail to include in our thanks those British Colonies in both hemispheres who are once again showing a most practical sympathy with our misfortunes; and whose union with the mother country and with her great Asiatic dependency, whether it be for the purpose of conducting a war, or for that of alleviating the suffering of the masses, strikes a harmonious and re-sounding note at the dawn of a new century, which will re-echo throughout the world.

When in the month of December last a warning Circular was issued by the Government of India concerning relief tests and relief distribution, apprehension was expressed in some quarters that its purport might be misunderstood by the local Governments, who might thereby be led to restrict relief to a dangerous degree, and to read into the cautious utterances of the Supreme Government, a hint that relief *must* be contracted, and expenditure curtailed, however urgent the requirements of the people. The Circular has now been in operation for three months. The numbers upon relief are in themselves sufficient to show how little ground there was for

the apprehensions which I have quoted. On the other hand, we know from the replies of local Governments that our insistence on the proper application of tests and precautions, and on the limitation of relief to the strict necessities of the case, was greatly needed; and that our warning has led to very desirable reforms. We are satisfied from the reports as to the health and general condition of the people in the distressed tracts which we constantly receive that sufficient relief is being given, and we also have the best of reasons for believing that, had not the conditions of relief been made more stringent, and had not additional precautions been applied, the State would now be engaged in the support of many who were by no means at the end of their resources.

There remains one more test which I should like to apply to our famine-relief system. I refer to the test of the death-rate. I have called for the figures, and I have been astonished at the number of famine-stricken provinces and districts in which the mortality is scarcely at all in excess of the normal. In the Central Provinces, there is only a single district in which the excess is so marked as to attract attention. I saw a letter a day or two ago from a visitor to the worst area in that province, and he reported that there was little to distinguish the persons upon relief-works from labourers engaged upon Government works in ordinary times. I understand the same impression to be borne out by the personal experience of Mr. Rees. Contrast these facts with the shocking mortality in the last famine. In some of the districts of Bombay, in Berar, and in Ajmer, where the death-rate has risen, the chief cause of the deaths attributed to privation is the enormous influx of destitute refugees from the neighbouring Native States, where the same perfection of relief-works, and the same care for the life of the people, do not exist. I am afraid that in many of these States deaths from starvation are numerous. Jaipur is managing its own relief generously and well. But in January 1250 deaths from starvation were reported, mostly wanderers from Marwar. In the same

month, 250 starvation deaths were reported from Kotah. In Udaipur, which has been very backward, there were 1100 starvation deaths in January, 3250 in February. I might quote other and similar cases. The problem in Native States is a difficult one, arising from the want of experience of the Durbars, the complete novelty to many of their number of the principle itself of State-relief, the lack of organisation, and the wild character of some of the hill tribes. Many of the Native Princes have shown wonderful energy and public spirit. But the real efficacy of the system adopted by the Government of India is best shown by contrasting it with that which prevails in adjoining tracts not directly under British administration. The experience of such a famine as this is enough to extinguish for ever the fallacy that these visitations are less severe in their incidence, or less calamitous in their result, in Native territory than they are in British India. The figures and facts prove irrefutably an entirely opposite condition of affairs.

Now in connection with famine, there are certain remedial or preventive measures frequently suggested to us, about which I should like, at this stage, to say a word. The employers of labour in India are in the habit of saying, "Here we are in great straits for want of labour in our mines, our factories, or our mills. On the other hand, only a few hundred miles away are thousands of able-bodied persons, who are only being saved from starvation by the intervention and at the cost of Government. Why does not Government spare its own pocket, and at the same time help us, by moving these people from where they are not wanted to where they are?" Nothing, indeed, can sound more simple on paper. But nothing more difficult in practice. In the first place, human labour, and particularly native labour, is not like a cartload of bricks, or gravel, or stones which can be taken up here and dumped down there, wherever you please. In the second place, we and our officers have too much to do in time of famine to be able to convert Government into a sort of vast Emigration Bureau. For

such a purpose is wanted a close inquiry into the conditions of labour, the organisation of transport, protection of the labour when transported, and so on. If we undertake to move these large batches of men, we shall also, if the experiment proves a failure, be held responsible, and shall have to bring them back again. In all likelihood very many of them would die on the way. Now this is not primarily our business. It is emphatically a case in which capital should help itself, and should not shift its own responsibility on to Government. It is the business of Government to lend every assistance in its power, and that I would most gladly do. But I should like to see the employers of labour a little more willing to help themselves. I know that, if I were one of their number, and were in need of labour, I would have my agents out at once, travelling here, there, and everywhere, and picking out the stuff that I wanted in suitable provinces and localities.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SIMLA

At a meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla on October 19, 1900, the Viceroy summed up the administration of the recent Famine in India in the following speech:—

Exactly a year ago to-day I made a speech in this Council upon the then impending Famine. Throughout the twelve months that have intervened, this famine, which, within the range of its incidence, has been the severest that India has ever known, has been the main preoccupation of Government. It has engrossed our whole attention, has placed a terrible strain both upon our resources and our officials, has disorganised our finances, and has addressed a perpetual and irresistible appeal to our individual humanity. Now that it is drawing to a close, it may not be inappropriate that I should attempt to sum up the results of the past year's experience; so that the public may realise within a short

compass what the Great Famine of 1899-1900 has meant, how we have endeavoured to meet it, what a mark it has left, or will leave, upon the history of the country, and what is the teaching that may be derived from a study of its features.

We cannot, I think, be accused of having failed to anticipate or to provide for this great drought. Our anxiety as to the prospects dated from as far back as July 1899. In the early autumn the local Governments and ourselves were busily occupied in making preparations for the possible failure of the monsoon. When I spoke in October, relief operations had already commenced, and half a million persons were on relief. The numbers rapidly rose, month by month, till, in July last, they touched the unprecedented total of considerably more than six millions of persons. Even now, over two millions are still in receipt of relief; though we hope that, in the course of next month, the necessity may disappear, and that the whole of this number may before long go away to their homes.

The main statistical features of the famine are already sufficiently well known and may be briefly dismissed. It has affected an area of over 400,000 square miles, and a population of about sixty millions, of whom twenty-five millions belong to British India and the remainder to Native States. Within this area the famine conditions have, during the greater part of the year, been intense. Outside it they have extended, with a gradually dwindling radius, over wide districts which have suffered much from loss of crops and cattle, if not from actual scarcity. In a greater or less degree nearly one-fourth of the entire population of the Indian continent have come within the range of relief operations. It is difficult to express in figures with any close degree of accuracy the loss occasioned by so widespread and severe a visitation. But it may be roughly put in this way. The annual agricultural production of India and Burma averages in value between 350 and 400 crores of rupees.[1]

[1] *Vide* vol. i. p. 99.

On a very cautious estimate, the production in 1899-1900 must have been at least one-quarter, if not one-third, below the average. At normal prices the loss was, at least, 75 crores, or fifty millions sterling. In this estimate India is treated as a whole. But in reality the loss fell on a portion only of the continent, and ranged from almost total failure of crop in Guzerat, Berar, Chattisgarh, and Hissar, and in many of the Rajputana States, to 20 and 30 per cent in districts of the North-Western Provinces and Madras, which were not reckoned as falling within the famine tract. If to this be added the value of some millions of cattle, some conception may be formed of the destruction of property which a great drought occasions. There have been many great droughts in India, but there has been no other of which such figures could be predicated as these.

It must further be remembered that, unlike previous famines, that of 1900 was separated by the short space of only two years from a drought not greatly inferior to it in extent and scarcity. Some tracts which suffered in 1896-7 have been fortunate enough to escape in 1899-1900. But the most calamitous feature of the recent famine has been that there were others which not only suffered again, but suffered in a worse degree. This was the case in the Central Provinces, and in portions of Rajputana, Central India, the South-East Punjab, and the Bombay Deccan. Apart from this area of twofold distress, the centre of gravity tended, on the present occasion, to shift towards the west. The cluster of Native States lying between the Nerbudda, the Jumna, and the Sutlej, were swept into the area of scarcity. Finally, the fertile provinces of Guzerat and Kathiawar, whose rainfall is generally so abundant and so steady that they have been styled the Garden of India, were attacked ; and there, in proportion as the immunity hitherto enjoyed has been the longest, so was the suffering the most widespread and enduring.

This was the situation with which we were confronted a year ago, and which has gradually developed

since. It was not merely a crop failure, but a fodder famine on an enormous scale, followed in many parts by a positive devastation of cattle—both plough cattle, buffaloes, and milch kine. In other words, it affected, and may almost be said to have annihilated, the working capital of the agricultural classes. It struck some of them when they were still down from the effects of the recent shock. It struck others, who had never before known what calamity was, and who were crushed and shattered by the suddenness and directness of the blow. It attacked Native States, to whose Durbars had never previously been brought home the obligation of famine relief on an extended scale, and whose dearth of administrative staff was enhanced by the poverty of their financial resources. It laid its hand upon primitive hillmen, unused to discipline or restraint, impulsive, improvident, lazy, living in an almost barbarous state in wild and inaccessible jungles. It sharpened the lurking nomadic instinct of wandering tribes, and sent them aimlessly drifting about the country, a terror to the famine officer, and an incubus to the camps. For a year it never left hold of its victims; and one-half of the year had not elapsed before famine had brought its familiar attendant Furies in its train; and cholera, dysentery, and fever had fallen upon an already exhausted and enfeebled population. This is the picture of suffering that India has presented during the past year. Let us now examine the steps that have been taken to ameliorate it.

In such diverse circumstances the methods of relief, the difficulties encountered, and the degree of success attained, have varied greatly. The preceding famine had bequeathed experiences and lessons of the utmost value, which were carefully gathered up by the Commission of 1898, and which have profoundly affected the policy of the present famine. The stress laid by the Commission on the necessity for starting relief before the people have run down; their advocacy of more extensive gratuitous relief, especially in the form of

kitchen relief; their recommendations concerning the special treatment of aboriginal and forest tribes; their approval of small or village relief works in special circumstances in preference to large works: these and other injunctions will be found to have influenced our measures and shaped our course throughout the famine. The Commission's recommendations were generally in the direction of greater flexibility in relief methods, and greater liberality of relief. The dangers of ill-regulated profusion are obvious; and, apart from all considerations of cost, it would be a national misfortune if relief were ever made so facile or so pleasant as to destroy the self-respect and self-reliance of the people. But the Commission were not unmindful of this danger; and their findings amounted to this, that they recognised that, in the last famine, we had not succeeded in preventing great mortality and suffering, and that they thought better results might be attainable by a larger expenditure of money and a somewhat greater regard to the circumstances of special localities and classes. They said in effect that, if it was good policy to combat a famine, it was good policy to combat it effectively. It is possible that, in certain directions, their recommendations erred on the side of over-liberality. Their wage-scale is an instance. It was tried in all provinces at the commencement of the present famine, but was speedily reduced by the independent consent of all local Governments. Again, their advocacy of gratuitous relief may be said by some to have led, in the present famine, to a scale of alms-giving unprecedented in magnitude, and likely to embarrass future famine administration. This question I will discuss in a moment. I merely mention the matter now to show that, in the present famine, we have broken new ground, and, acting upon the lessons of its predecessor, have accepted a higher standard of moral and financial obligation than has ever before been recognised or acted upon in this or any country.

If, indeed, a special characteristic should be attributed

to our campaign of famine relief in the first year, it has been its unprecedented liberality. There is no parallel in the history of India, or in that of any country in the world, to the total of over six million persons who, in British India and the Native States, have for weeks on end been dependent upon the charity of Government. Let me compare these figures with those of the preceding famine.

In 1897 the high-water mark of relief was reached in the second fortnight of May, when there were nearly 4 million persons on relief in British India. Taking the affected population at 40 millions, the ratio of relief was 10 per cent. In one district of Madras, and in two districts of the North-Western Provinces, the ratio for some months was about 30 per cent; but these were exceptional cases. In the most distressed districts of the Central Provinces, 15 or 16 per cent was regarded in 1896-7 as a very high standard of relief. Now take the figures of the present year. For some weeks in June and July, upwards of 4½ million persons were on relief in British India. Reckoned on a population of, say, 25 millions, the ratio of relief was 18 per cent as compared with 10 per cent in 1897. In many districts the proportion exceeded 20 per cent. In several it exceeded 30 per cent. In two districts it exceeded 40 per cent. In the small district of Merwara, where famine has been present for two years, 75 per cent of the population has been on relief. Nothing that I might say can intensify the simple eloquence of these figures.

The next test that I apply is that of the number of officers whom we have lent both to British districts and to Native States to reinforce the overworked, and in many cases undermanned, local establishments. From the Army 84 Staff Corps officers, 17 native officers, 10 British non-commissioned officers and privates, and 228 native non-commissioned officers and privates, have been deputed for periods of various length to famine duty in British India and Native States. They have

done excellent work. Including the above, the total number of public officials deputed from civil and military employ to famine duty has amounted to 637. Among these were 35 assistant surgeons and 141 hospital assistants, 44 civil engineers, 10 Royal Engineers, and 24 Public Works subordinates. Large as these numbers were, we would gladly have sent more, had the men been forthcoming. Since the famine began, I cannot recall ever having refused an application, if it was possible to grant it. We literally scoured the remaining provinces of India for the loan of men, and with great generosity, wherever practicable, their Governments responded to the appeal. After my return from Guzerat, we collected and sent down a large number of additional hospital assistants, of whom I had noted a regrettable paucity, to Bombay. Similarly, in the Native States, as the Chiefs and Durbars have repeatedly acknowledged, it has only been owing to the administrative knowledge, the unflagging energy, and the devotion of the British officers whom we have lent to them, that they have escaped a disastrous breakdown.

My third test is that of financial outlay. The direct expenditure on famine relief in British India, and in Berar, from the commencement of relief operations up to the end of August, has been 854 lakhs of rupees. We estimate a further expenditure of about 150 lakhs up to the 31st March next, making in all, in round numbers, about 10 crores of rupees. In loans and advances to landholders and cultivators, we have expended 238 lakhs. We have made advances for plough cattle and for agricultural operations this autumn free of interest, and on very easy terms as to eventual repayment; and our expectation is that not more than one-half will be recovered. In the matter of land revenue, our latest estimate is that, of a demand of 392 lakhs in the Central Provinces and Bombay, 164 lakhs will be uncollected during the year. In the distressed districts of the Punjab, suspensions aggregating 41 lakhs

are anticipated. With these figures I compare those for the famine of 1896-7, calling attention, however, to the fact that, in 1896-7, the area and population in British India affected by famine were considerably larger than in the present year. The total direct expenditure on famine relief was 727 lakhs of rupees; 130 lakhs were advanced as *takavi*: and land revenue to the amount of about two crores was suspended. In this comparison, our further outlay in connection with relief in Native States has been omitted, for the reason that, in 1896-7, the calls upon us in that respect were insignificant. In the present famine, our loans to Native States in Rajputana have amounted to 69 lakhs of rupees: to Native States in the Bombay Presidency we have lent 78 lakhs of rupees, besides guaranteeing the repayment of loans to the amount of 105 lakhs of rupees borrowed by other States in the market. We have also come to the assistance of the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose extensive dominions have suffered from severe drought. In all, our actual loans to Native rulers in connection with the present famine amount, in the aggregate, to over 3½ crores. This is exclusive of the guaranteed loans. Without this assistance it may be safely said that the States would have been wholly unequal to the task of relieving their subjects, and even, in some cases, of carrying on the ordinary administration of their territories.

I now pass to an examination of the methods of famine relief which we have adopted. In one respect they have differed materially from those of the preceding famine. Profiting by its lessons, we have learned to apply a much more flexible system. Thus, in 1897, the effective relief of the aboriginal races in the Central Provinces was regarded as an insoluble problem. They suffered and perished in their jungles. This year, congenial work and extensive gratuitous relief were provided for them in the forests, and the Gonds and Baigas have survived with no exceptional mortality. Again, whereas in 1897 there was a terrible mortality in

the Central Provinces when the rains set in, owing to the abrupt closing of relief works without a simultaneous expansion of home or village relief, in the present year we have scattered broadcast over the country an extensive system of kitchen relief, upon which, while no one disputes its general necessity or its success, the only criticism that has been passed is that it has erred on the side of liberality, and has been abused by able-bodied persons who preferred to be fed for nothing in the kitchens to earning their own livelihood in the fields. In 1897, the complaint was one of parsimony and lack of preparation. If we have now, in some cases, gone too far in the opposite direction, some allowance must be made for the natural recoil from earlier mistakes.

Guzerat supplies another instance of the degree in which we have accentuated and added to the flexibility of the Famine Code. When the great outbreak of cholera had disorganised the large relief works and had driven the terrified workers away to their homes, and when extraordinarily high death-rates revealed the existence of very widespread destitution and suffering, the Government of India did not hesitate to advise the Bombay Government to meet the situation by enlarging the customary bounds of gratuitous relief, and by opening petty village works to take the place of the deserted Public Works relief camps. The effect of this policy was that, whereas in the middle of May the number of persons on gratuitous relief in the five districts of Guzerat was little more than 50,000, at the end of June it had risen to 150,000, at the end of July to 308,000, and by the middle of August to 385,000, the last figure representing more than 12 per cent of the entire population of those districts. Before the present famine, such a percentage would have been regarded as a flagrant abuse of famine relief. We were, however, satisfied that a strict adherence to the labour-test principle would, in June and July last, have failed to meet the very special set of circumstances created by

the cholera outbreak in Guzerat, and I have no doubt that the satisfactory decline in the death-rate was largely due to the policy adopted.

In drawing attention, however, to the greater liberality of relief that has been practised, the question may be asked whether it was, after all, only due to the superior intensity of this year's famine, or whether it has denoted greater efficiency and perfection of method, or has perhaps only been the result of promiscuous and thoughtless charity. Some part of it must, no doubt, be attributed to the greater severity of the recent distress which I have already demonstrated. Upon the second head we may safely claim to have profited by experience in the improvement of our relief arrangements, and in their more accurate adaptation to the special circumstances of different districts, the special requirements of different classes, and the different seasons of the year. No critic would dispute this proposition. As regards the third point, it is not without a smile that, while I now read in some quarters that the conditions of relief, notably in respect of kitchen relief in the Central Provinces, have been relaxed to a dangerous and demoralising degree, I remember that, nine months ago, the Government of India were being assailed for the alleged stringency and harshness of the warnings that they had given in the Circular of December 1899. Looking back upon our entire experience, I have now no hesitation in saying that our warning note was well timed and was wisely issued. Our inquiry was followed by a very salutary re-organisation of relief works in the Central Provinces and elsewhere, by large additions in all provinces to the superior famine staff, and by considerable improvements in the supervision and conduct of relief measures. One of its results was the exposure of the inadequacy of the superior staff, and of the dangers which were certain to ensue if this were not rectified. It was in consequence of this discovery that we offered the substantial help, in respect of Staff Corps Officers, Medical Officers, officers drafted

from the Postal, Salt, and Police Departments, and Engineers, of which I have already spoken.

I should like to add that, in my opinion, there was no inconsistency between the position taken up by the Government of India in the first months of the famine, and their subsequent attitude in permitting a vast expansion of gratuitous relief during the rains in the Central Provinces, and in counselling the Government of Bombay to relax the conditions of relief in Guzerat, when cholera had disorganised the large works. Conditions are radically different at the beginning and at the height of a famine: and a degree of firmness at the outset is essential, which would, at a later stage, be altogether out of place. If this be borne in mind, our policy will, on examination, prove to have been consistent throughout. On the one hand, we have set our face against indiscriminate and pauperising charity, and have endeavoured to insist on relief being administered with the care and method which we owe to the tax-payer and to the exchequer. On the other hand, we have been prepared to accept any expenditure of which it could be shown that it was required to save life, or to mitigate genuine distress. The only intelligent, and the only possible, policy is based on these two principles. There is no contradiction between them. No famine has ever been, or ever will be, successfully administered, that does not exhibit, according to the point from which it is scrutinised, the opposite characteristics of strictness and leniency, or that is not open to the charge—if charges are to be brought—of being at different moments profuse and grudging.

Nevertheless, we may still be asked whether we are quite satisfied that the abnormal mortality in Guzerat, the widespread misery described by competent observers, and the temporary breakdown of the relief machinery in that part, were not due to any fault in our initial instructions. That the mortality was very great cannot be denied. In Broach the monthly death-rate rose from 2.96 per mille in October 1899, to 24.83 in May 1900.

In the Panch Mahals, the death-rate for the same month of May was 46.60 per mille; in Kaira 21.07; in Ahmedabad 24. These rates include deaths from cholera, a most virulent wave of which swept over Guzerat in April; although it is impossible to distinguish accurately between the mortality for which cholera was directly responsible, and that which was due to other diseases, to debility, to privations, and to the temporary disorganisation of the camps. I have seen the Report of a special inquiry which has just been conducted into the Guzerat mortality by the Sanitary Commissioner to the Bombay Government. He specifies no fewer than eight causes for the excessive death-rate in that district. They were—insufficient and unwholesome food; resort to Rangoon rice and other unaccustomed grains; bad cooking and bad water; the physical softness of a people who had never previously experienced famine; the unwillingness of certain classes, such as the Bhils and herdsmen, to apply for relief; and the vagabond instincts of large sections of the population. Some of these causes were preventible or reducible; the majority were not. If a perfect relief system is anywhere attainable, it is obvious that it is more likely to be realised in a district where the people are already acquainted with the principles of relief, and where they feel no natural reluctance to avail themselves of it. Neither of those conditions was present in Guzerat. The rapidity and completeness of the calamity took the people by surprise; the weakness and incapacity for resistance of the people took the local Government by surprise. Had there been greater previous experience in either respect, the results might have been modified. The failure was certainly not due to any antecedent orders on the part of Government, or to any parsimony in the scheme of relief. On the contrary, the actual cost of relief per head in Bombay exceeded the cost-rate in other parts of India. While, therefore, I feel that the excessive mortality in Guzerat is a phenomenon of which it is difficult to give a full explanation, and which may still call for

further inquiry, I think that a good deal of weight should be attached, in a comparison, for instance, between Guzerat and the Central Provinces, to the different temperaments of the afflicted populations, and to their relative familiarity or unfamiliarity with relief methods.

If we examine the death-rate elsewhere, we shall find that, in the Central Provinces, it remained satisfactorily low until the concluding months of the famine. Excluding epidemic disease, the provincial rate for April was only 3.25 per mille, and for May 3.42 per mille. These were the worst months in Guzerat. In June, the rate (excluding cholera and small-pox, which carried off 23,000 persons) rose to 4 per mille, and in some parts was higher. In July it rose to 5.35 per mille, while some districts showed a local rate of from 7 to 10 per mille. In August, the death-rate in one district rose to no less than 15.21 per mille. It is a curious fact, however, that this high mortality was not accompanied by any exterior evidence of starvation or even of emaciation. The people, in fact, did not die of want of food, but from the sudden change in climatic conditions which occurs during and after the rains.

In the Punjab the mortality statistics exhibit much the same features as in the Central Provinces, though in a slightly less degree. In Hissar, where the death-rate has been highest, it has never exceeded 8 *per mille*, excluding cholera. The result of my examination has been to show that relief has been fully and sufficiently given in the Punjab, and that there has been no mortality from starvation, or even from direct privation, save in the case of wanderers from Native States, who arrived in too debilitated a condition to be saved.

In Berar the death-rate has been generally moderate, except in two districts adjoining the Nizam's Dominions, where there was much pauper emigration across the border. In the last weeks of the hot weather, the mortality rose everywhere, especially in those two districts; but no one has been found to suggest that it was due to any deficiency of relief.

I do not speak of the mortality in the Native States, which has, in many cases, been shocking, because the Government of India cannot be held responsible for a system which it does not control, and because my sole desire has been, while stating the best, and admitting the worst, that can be said about our own methods, to ascertain how far the latter have justified themselves, or are capable of amendment. Broadly speaking, it may be said that no endeavours which it is in the power of the most philanthropic or generous of Governments to put forward will avail to prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine. No relief system in the world will counteract the effects of reduced food supply, cessation of wages, high prices, and break-up of homes, among millions of people, or will prevent famine from being attended by its twin sister, pestilence.

When, however, I read the records of earlier famines, and compare their results with this, I do feel some cause for satisfaction. We are sometimes told of the wonderful things that happened in India before the days of British rule, and are invited, in most unhistorical fashion, to regard it as a Saturnian age. I have looked up the statistics of the last great famine that occurred in Bengal, while that province was still under Native administration. This was in the year 1770. I speak of local administration, because, although the Diwani of Bengal had been assumed by the Company a few years before, the latter had not yet taken over the civil administration, which remained in the hands of the former Native officers of the Delhi Government. Throughout the summer of that year it is on record that the husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees, and the grass of the field; and, when the height of the summer was reached, the living were feeding on the dead. The streets of the cities were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dead and dying: even the dogs and jackals could not accomplish their revolting

ference with Native administration, we have yet, in the discharge of our duty as the paramount Power, and in the interests of the States themselves, tendered them constant advice, have lent them competent officers, have made them liberal loans, and have supplied co-ordination and system to their methods of relief. On the whole, we may congratulate ourselves upon the success that has attended these efforts. In a few States the duty of succouring their subjects has been so neglected by the Durbars as to need strong interference; and in others the good intentions of rulers have been frustrated by the dishonesty and peculation of subordinate officials, who could not resist turning even the starvation of their fellow-creatures to their own profit. But, in the majority of cases, the Chiefs have shown a most laudable disposition to accept our methods of relief, in so far as their resources and the agency at their command permitted. In some of the Rajputana States, especially in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikanir, and Kishengarh, the arrangements have been admirably planned and carried out by the rulers themselves, and have aroused the admiration of persons familiar with the famine system of British provinces. Surveying the Native States as a whole, we may say that there has been an awakening to the call of philanthropic duty, which has been most gratifying.

Nevertheless, the difference of the standards in vogue may be judged from a comparison of the figures on relief in the two areas. In Bikanir and Jodhpur, for instance, the numbers relieved in any month never exceeded 6 per cent of the nominal population, while in the British districts of Ajmer-Merwara, 25 per cent of the population were for months on relief. Even in the States under the Bombay Government, in which, for various reasons, the initiative and supervision of the Political Officers were more in evidence than in Central India and Rajputana, the scale of relief was very different from that in Guzerat. In Kathiawar, the numbers on relief never exceeded 13 per cent of the population. In Palanpur they reached, but did not exceed, 15 per cent

in one month alone. In the same month (July 1900), one-third of the aggregate population of the four distressed districts of Guzerat was on relief. The two great States of Baroda and Hyderabad flank the Bombay territory on the north and east. In Hyderabad and Baroda the numbers on relief never rose to 5 per cent of the nominal population; and yet both States were visited by drought and famine not less severely than the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency. Meanwhile, the difference in the standards of relief was further testified by the eagerness with which thousands of fugitives streamed across the border from Native States into British territory, where they passed themselves off as British subjects, in the hope of enjoying the superior wages and comforts of our relief works, our poorhouses, and our hospitals.

I do not dwell on this point in order to disparage the efforts, in many cases most praiseworthy, made by Native States to relieve their people; but simply because the difference between the standard of relief, at which we have by degrees arrived, and the standard of relief recognised as liberal in the best managed Native State, is one of the elementary facts of famine experience. We may gladly admit that more has been done for their people by the Chiefs and rulers of Rajputana on this occasion than in any other historic famine. There are many bright examples of benevolence and humanity. The Maharaja of Jaipur has extended his princely munificence not only to his own people, but to India at large. There is the instance of the late Maharaja of Kishengarh, who, though suffering from a mortal illness, took the keenest interest in the relief arrangements of his State, and never once alluded to his own ill-health. There is also the case of the wife of Maharaja Pertab Sangh of Jodhpur, who, not content with opening an orphanage, resided there herself in order to superintend it. These instances, and their number might easily be increased, show the spirit with which the famine has been faced in Rajputana by some, at least, of its rulers.

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As for the people, they have borne their trials, as the Indian people always do, with exemplary fortitude and resignation.

I now pass to the subject of the charitable help which has been rendered to us in our long struggle, from so many quarters, in so many parts of the world. An impression appears to prevail that, on the present occasion, this assistance has been scant and disappointing. I do not share these views. Looking to the circumstances in which our appeal has been made, and even accepting the test of comparison with the famine of 1896-7, I still hold that the amount contributed has been munificent, while its utility can scarcely be overrated. In 1896-7 the total collections amounted to 170 lakhs, of which 10 lakhs remained over at the beginning of the recent famine. In the present year, the Central Relief Committee has received a sum of close upon 140 lakhs, or not far short of one million sterling.

Analysing the subscriptions, I find that India has contributed about the same amount to the fund as in 1896-7; that is to say, about 32 lakhs. If the contributions from the European community are deducted, India may be considered to have contributed at the outside less than one-fifth of the total collections of 140 lakhs. More might have been expected from the Native community as a whole, notwithstanding individual examples of remarkable generosity. The little Colony of the Straits Settlements, for instance, which has no connection with India beyond that of sentiment, has given more than the whole of the Punjab. A careful observation of the figures and proceedings in each province compels me to say that, in my opinion, Native India has not yet reached as high a standard of practical philanthropy or charity as might reasonably be expected. Though private wealth in India is not widely distributed, its total volume is considerable. If Englishmen in all parts of the world can be found, as they have been found, twice in three years, willing to

contribute enormous sums for the relief of India, on the sole ground that its people are the suffering fellow-subjects of the same Queen, it surely behoves the more affluent of the Native community not to lag behind in the succour of those who are of their own race and creed.

The collections from abroad have amounted to 108 lakhs, as against 137 lakhs in 1896-7. The United Kingdom's contribution of 88½ lakhs compares indifferently with the contribution of 123 lakhs in 1896-7, but, in the circumstances of the year, it is a noble gift. The City of Glasgow has been especially generous, with a donation of 8¼ lakhs, and Liverpool with 4½, in addition to nearly 16 lakhs from the rest of Lancashire. Australasia has given nearly 8 lakhs in place of the 2 lakhs sent in 1896-7. The Straits Settlements, Ceylon, and Hong Kong have also been extremely generous. Even Chinese native officials have collected handsome sums on behalf of the Fund. The liberal donation of Germany, at the instigation of the Emperor, has already been publicly acknowledged. Finally, the United States of America, both through direct contributions to the Fund, and by means of privately distributed gifts of money and grain, have once more shown their vivid sympathy with England's mission and with India's need.

I pass to the mode in which the Famine Fund has been distributed. The formation of the Fund was accompanied by two announcements: the one, that in the distribution of the money the four objects of relief recognised in 1896-7 would be adhered to; the other, that the claims of Native States would be fully considered. These principles have been faithfully adhered to by the Central Committee. Until the detailed expenditure accounts of the Local Committees are received, we cannot accurately state the distribution under the several headings. But we know approximately that, of 137 lakhs allotted by the Central Committee, 111 lakhs have been for cattle, and seed, and subsistence to culti-

vators. The allotments to the Native States aggregate nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. The allotments to Rajputana alone amount to 22 lakhs. Measured by the population of the distressed areas, Rajputana has thus been not less generously treated than the Central Provinces. In the case of wealthy States like Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Baroda, the Central Committee have restricted their grants to such amounts as the Political Officers have thought it expedient to ask for. Speaking generally, the grants made in Native territory have far exceeded the expectations of the rulers or their subjects. The gratitude of the latter has been expressed in homely and touching phrase. "If the English had not sent us this money, the thread of our lives would have been broken." "These are not rupees which have come over the sea; they are the water of life." "We have *heard* of the generosity of Hatim Bai, but we have *tasted* that of the Great Queen." How timely was the arrival of this charity, and how much it meant, is seen in scores of affecting incidents. "Now I have got through to the other side," said a poor cultivator, with tears in his eyes, to the English officer who had given him a few rupees to buy fodder for his famished bullocks. There is ample evidence that this gratitude is of an enduring nature. Some of the happiest memories of famine officers are those of unexpected visits from men who had been helped back to their old life by grants of seed and bullocks, and who returned, after many days, to again acknowledge the value of the gift. Nor should the self-respect, which in not a few cases stood between a needy person and the proffered gift, or the scrupulous regard which led to its return because it might be misapplied, be overlooked. From Rajputana comes an old-world tale of a Rajput Chief, dwelling in his bare house among his destitute tenants, who distributed among the latter the grant allotted to his village, but refused any gift for himself—"I am a Rahtor; I could not take charity,"—and who with difficulty was induced to take a small loan. From Rajputana also comes the

story of the man who was given a little money to convey his family and himself to a relief work because he said that he had no means of feeding them on the way, but who came back and returned the gift because, as he said, he had not spoken the truth, since he had five goats which he could kill, one each day, eating part of the flesh, and selling the remainder. It is these incidents which lead one to hope that this great national charity has not been misplaced, but has been received in the spirit in which it has been offered.

In a famine campaign which has lasted for so long, and has provided so many opportunities for chivalry and self-sacrifice, it would not be difficult, but it might be invidious, to select any names for special mention. Numerous cases of devotion, amounting to the loftiest heroism, have been brought under my notice. I have heard of Englishmen dying at their posts without a murmur. I have seen cases where the entire organisation of a vast area, and the lives of thousands of beings, rested upon the shoulders of a single individual labouring on in silence and solitude, while his bodily strength was fast ebbing away. I have known of natives, who, inspired by his example, have thrown themselves with equal ardour into the struggle, and have uncomplainingly laid down their lives for their countrymen. Particularly must I mention the noble efforts of the Missionary Agencies of various Christian denominations. If ever there was an occasion in which their local knowledge and influence were likely to be of value, and in which it was open to them to vindicate the highest standards of their beneficent calling, it was here; and strenuously and faithfully have they performed the task.

From this record of the past I will now turn for a few moments to the future. After the sombre picture that I have been compelled to draw, it is with no small relief that we may contemplate the existing situation and outlook. The monsoon was late in coming, but it has lingered long; and, except in the eastern parts of the Bombay Deccan, where I hear of crops withering

from the premature cessation of the rains, of a poor *kharif*, and of anxious prospects, the outlook is everywhere promising. The early autumn crops are already being harvested, and prices are steadily falling back to their accustomed level. A good cotton crop is on the ground, and as the cotton crop of India is worth 13 millions sterling in an average year, its importance to the agriculturist will be readily understood. Preparations for the winter crops are being actively made, and there is every expectation that the sowings in many parts will be unusually large, and will be made in the most favourable circumstances. A good winter harvest means cash to the farmer, as a good autumn harvest means cheap and abundant food to the poorest classes. If we have the good fortune to see our anticipations realised, next year should witness the export trade in agricultural produce again revive, and the import trade expand with the improvement in the purchasing power of the people.

That the famine-smitten tracts will at once, or speedily, lose the marks of the ordeal through which they have passed, is not to be expected. The rapidity of the recovery will depend upon many circumstances—upon the vitality and stout-heartedness of the tillers of the soil, upon the degree of their indebtedness, upon the goodness or badness of the next few seasons, upon the extent to which their cattle have perished, and, not least, upon the liberality, in respect of revenue remission, of the Government. As regards the loss of stock, our latest reports are more encouraging than at one time we could have foreseen, and justify us in the belief that, if the seasons be propitious, recuperation will be more rapid than might at first sight be deemed likely. In olden times, after a famine such as we have experienced, the districts would have been depopulated, and the land would have lain waste for a generation, for lack of hands to till it. There may be isolated tracts in the jungles and mountain fastnesses of Central India and Rajputana, where the approaching census will reveal a melancholy

decrease of population. But, treating India as a whole, neither in Native States, nor in British territory, is the wholesale and lasting desolation which followed the footsteps of a famine a hundred years ago any longer within the bounds of possibility. The standard of humanity has risen with the means of combating the peril; and in proportion as the struggle has been arduous, so are the after-effects mitigated.

I have alluded to the attitude of Government. In so far as generosity in respect of advances, of loans, of suspensions, and, most of all, of remissions, is concerned, the figures that I have previously given will show that, on our part, there has been no hanging back. Our first object has hitherto been to pull the sufferers through. Our first object now is to start them again with reasonable, chances in the world. Behind these two objects lies the further and binding duty of profiting by the lessons that the famine has taught. It will not do for us to sit still until the next famine comes, and then bewail the mysteries of Providence. A famine is a natural visitation in its origin; but it is, or should be, a very business-like proceeding when once it has started. There are many subjects into which we shall require to make careful inquiry, and an investigation into which we have already suggested to the Secretary of State. We shall want to compare the various relief systems and their results as practised in the different provinces; to see in what respects our codes are faulty, where they are too rigid, and where they are too lax; to still further investigate the vexed question of large works as against small works, and of relief concentration as against relief dispersion. We shall have to examine the rival merits of relief establishments, and of unconditional gratuitous relief when the rains break. We must consider how far sudden and excessive mortality is to be explained or prevented. We must ascertain the best means of bringing home relief, in the form of revenue remissions and suspensions, with the greatest promptitude and directness to the people. We must

investigate and report upon the various public works that have been undertaken in the course of the recent famine, and must provide for the execution of a continuous programme of preventive works in the future.

In this connection I would remind my hearers that the last Famine Commission in their Report devoted much attention to the matter. Unfortunately the recent famine came upon us before their recommendations had had time to bear fruit; and in the rush and hurry of the overwhelming calamity of the past year, works had often to be improvised, so to speak, in a moment, to meet the demands of a particular area, whether the work was or was not likely to be of permanent value. Against this danger we shall require to guard by insisting upon the methodical preparation of district programmes, and upon the formation of provincial branches, to be charged with this special duty. Railway earthwork has been pretty well exhausted for the present. More roads exist than can be properly kept up. But there are few parts of the country where works for the storage of water are not practicable. They may not, probably will not, be directly remunerative. But if such a work will conduce to greater security of the crops, and if it can be maintained at a moderate cost, it is just the sort of work which should be taken up, or kept in hand, for an emergency. No direct programme of relief should be considered complete until every possible irrigation or water storage scheme in the district has been examined, until a definite opinion has been come to as to its practicability and utility, and until detailed plans and estimates have been prepared for every accepted scheme. Such works will not fall within the category of the vast productive irrigation projects such as have been executed in many parts of India. These are only possible amid certain physical surroundings, in the alluvial plains of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, in the deltaic tracts of Madras and Sind, and within the dry zone of Burma. All the possible schemes of this character are well

known, and are gradually being undertaken. Tank storage, again, is not everywhere practicable. It is often found impossible to construct new tanks without injuring those already in existence; there is risk of water-logging the soil, and the water-supply is apt to fail altogether, and to run dry at the very moment when it is most wanted, namely, in time of famine. Nor are the average results of works of this description that have already been carried out very favourable. It is possible to reclaim land for cultivation at a cost that is too heavy. On the other hand, it would seem that the underground storage of water might be more widely and systematically undertaken, and that a more generous policy might be adopted towards the construction of wells. All these are matters which we should investigate and set on foot before the next famine comes. The annual rainfall of India we can neither regulate nor forecast. The social habits of the people we cannot alter in a decade, or in a generation. But if we can neither prevent nor cure, at least we can do a good deal by way of precaution.

There is one recommendation that was made by the last Famine Commission which should, I think, be of value to us in our policy of preparation, inasmuch as it has since received the sanction of the Secretary of State. This was the proposal that the cost of investigating and preparing new projects falling into the class of protective works should form a charge against the annual Famine Grant. Hitherto such preliminary outlay has been chargeable to the ordinary Public Works head of the provincial budget, and this has no doubt deterred the provincial Governments in the past from expending money in investigating projects for canals and irrigation reservoirs, which might prove, on examination, to be impracticable, and which, even if practicable, would have to stand over indefinitely until required for purposes of famine relief. There are other respects in which I think that the Famine Grant might be turned to better account in carrying out its original

object than is at present the case; but I have not time to deal with them now.

I must apologise to Council for having detained them so long. But a famine such as we have lately experienced is not an every-day or an every-year occurrence. It cannot be met with a sigh, or dismissed with a shudder. It is a terrible incident, an abiding landmark, in the history of the Indian people. As such, its management and its study impose a heavy responsibility upon those of us who are charged with the government of this great dependency. It is with the object of demonstrating to the Indian public that, in the administration of the recent famine, we have not been unworthy of our trust, and that this year of strain and suffering will not have passed by without our profiting by its lessons, that I have made this speech.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

THERE is one final subject that is rarely mentioned in these debates, and that finds little place in the many utterances which the head of the Government is called upon to make in the course of the year, and yet in a sense it is the most important of all. I allude to Foreign Affairs; and it must be remembered that in the case of India the phrase includes her relations with the whole of her neighbours; and that this carries with it the politics of the greater part of the Asiatic Continent. I doubt if even the thoughtful public has at all realised the silent but momentous change that is going on, and that will one day have an effect upon India that is at present but dimly discerned. In the old days, and it may almost be said up to the last fifteen years, the foreign relations of India were practically confined to her dealings with Afghanistan, and to the designs or movements of the great Power beyond; and the foreign policy of India had little to do with any other foreign nation. It is true that we had territories or outposts of influence that brought us into contact with Persia and Turkey, and that we had occasional dealings with the Arabian tribes. Now all that is changed; and events are passing, which are gradually drawing this country, once so isolated and remote, into the vortex of the world's politics, and that

will materially affect its future. The change has been due to two reasons. Firstly, as our own dominion has expanded, and our influence upon our frontier consolidated, we have been brought into more direct and frequent relations with the countries lying immediately beyond. For instance, the annexation of Upper Burma brought us into contact with an important corner of the Chinese Empire, and created a batch of frontier and other political problems of its own. But the second reason is much more important. Europe has woken up, and is beginning to take a revived interest in Asia. Russia with her vast territories, her great ambitions, and her unarrested advance, has been the pioneer in this movement, and with her or after her have come her competitors, rivals, and allies. Thus, as all these foreigners arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation recreated in Asia, with the same figures upon the stage. The great European Powers are also becoming the great Asiatic Powers. Already we have Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Turkey; and then, in place of all the smaller European kingdoms and principalities, we have the Empires and States of the East, Japan, China, Tibet, Siam, Afghanistan, Persia—only a few of them strong and robust, the majority containing the seeds of inevitable decay. There lie in these events and in this renewed contact or collision, as the case may be, between the East and the West, omens of the greatest significance to this country. Europe is so accurately parcelled out between the various States and Powers, the balance of power is suspended on so fine a thread, and the slightest disturbance would imperil such wide interests, that short of some serious and unforeseen convulsion, which every one would wish to avert, great changes are not to be anticipated there. Africa is rapidly being overrun by the few European Powers who have obtained a foothold upon that Continent; and before long its political destinies and territorial grouping will have taken some-

thing like definite shape. But in Asia a great deal is still in flux and solution, and there must, and there will be, great changes. It will be well to realise what an effect these must have upon India, and how they must add to our responsibilities and cares. Our Indian dominions now directly touch those of Turkey in many parts of the Arabian peninsula, those of Russia on the Pamirs, those of China along the entire border of Turkestan and Yunnan, those of France on the Upper Mekong. In our dealings with them, the Foreign Department in India is becoming the Asiatic branch of the Foreign Office in England. Then round all our borders is the fringe of Asiatic States to which I just now alluded, whose integrity and whose freedom from hostile influence are vital to our welfare, but over whose future the clouds are beginning to gather. In Europe we are a maritime Power, who are merely called upon to defend our own shores from invasion, and who are confronted by no land dangers or foes. In Asia we have both a seaboard and a land frontier many thousands of miles in length, and though Providence has presented us on some portion of our land frontiers with the most splendid natural defences in the world, yet the situation must become more and not less anxious as rival or hostile influences creep up to these ramparts, and as the ground outside them becomes the arena of new combinations and the field of unforeseen ambitions. All these circumstances will tend, they are already tending, to invest the work of the Indian Foreign Department with ever-increasing importance, and they demand a vigilance and a labour of which there are but few indications in anything that reaches the public ear or falls under the public eye. Questions of internal development, administrative anxieties, agrarian and fiscal problems, fill all our minds, just as they have occupied the greater part of my speech this afternoon. But do not let the people of India think that we shall never have anything but domestic cares in this country. Do not let them forget that there are other and not

inferior duties that devolve upon our rulers, that the safety of the Indian Frontier, and the maintenance of the British dominion in those parts of Asia where it has for long been established, and where it is the surest, if not the sole, guarantee for peace and progress, are in their hands, and that this no less than internal reform is part of England's duty. I see no reason for anticipating trouble upon our borders, and I know of no question that is at present in an acute or menacing phase. But do not let any one, on the strength of that, go to sleep in the happy illusion that anxiety will never come. The geographical position of India will more and more push her into the forefront of international politics. She will more and more become the strategical frontier of the British Empire. All these are circumstances that should give us food for reflection, and that impose upon us the duty of incessant watchfulness and precaution. They require that our forces shall be in a high state of efficiency, our defences secure, and our schemes of policy carefully worked out and defined. Above all, they demand a feeling of solidarity and common interest among those—and they include every inhabitant of this country, from the Raja to the Raiyat—whose interests are wrapped up in the preservation of the Indian Empire, both for the sake of India itself and for the wider good of mankind.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

About Foreign Affairs in their wider application I do not propose to say much. I spoke last year about the increasing range of our responsibilities in Asia, and a good deal has happened in the interim to point those remarks. My own view of India's position is this. She is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces, and with mountains for her walls on the

remainder. But beyond those walls, which are sometimes of by no means insuperable height and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glacis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends: but if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it, and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and as far eastwards as Siam. He would be a short-sighted commander who merely manned his ramparts in India and did not look out beyond; and the whole of our policy during the past five years has been directed towards maintaining our predominant influence and to preventing the expansion of hostile agencies on this area which I have described. It was for this reason that I visited that old field of British energy and influence in the Persian Gulf: and this also is in part the explanation of our movement into Tibet at the present time; although the attitude of the Tibetan Government, its persistent disregard of Treaty obligations, and its contemptuous retort to our extreme patience, would in any case have compelled a more active vindication of our interests. I should have thought that the record that I have quoted on the North-West Frontier would have saved me from the charge of a dangerous or impulsive policy on any part of the Indian frontier. I have had no desire to push on anywhere, and the history of the past five years has been one, not of aggression, but of consolidation and restraint. It is enough for me to guard what we have without hankering for more. But I would suffer any imputation sooner than be an unfaithful sentinel at my post, or allow the future peace of this country to be compromised by encroachment from the outside as to whose meaning there cannot be any question. If the Tibetan Government is wise it will

realise that the interests of Indian defence and the friendship of the Indian Government are entirely compatible with the continued independence and autonomy of Tibet, so far as these may be said at present to exist. But it should also realise that they are incompatible with the predominance of any other foreign influence, carrying with it insecurity on our frontier and adding gratuitously to our cares.

FRONTIER POLICY

DURBAR AT QUETTA

ON April 12, 1900, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta, for the reception of the Chiefs, Sirdars, and other Native gentlemen of Baluchistan. The Durbar was attended by the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Beyla, and about 300 Khans and Sirdars, and by all the principal civil and military officials in Quetta. The Viceroy's speech was as follows:—

I am sorry not to be able to speak to you in your own language. But my words will presently be translated and will thus reach your ears. However, though I cannot myself address you in a form that you will understand, I feel that I may claim to know something of your history, your customs, and your country. For many years, before I was appointed by Her Majesty the Queen to be her representative in India, I had spent much of my time in travelling upon the Indian frontier, and in neighbouring countries. I have met most of the tribes, and I know the principal chieftains along 1000 miles of that frontier from the Pamirs to Quetta; and I take a warm interest in these people and am attached to their rulers. Years ago, I devoted some time to travelling through Persia, a country with which many of you have close relations. On another occasion I stayed in Chitral with Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, just before he was murdered by his brother,

who is now a prisoner in British India; and on the last occasion that I was in Quetta, more than five years ago, I had ridden down to Chaman by Ghuzni and Kandahar from Kabul, where I had been for a fortnight as the guest of the Amir. Seven years before that time I was also here with Sir Robert Sandeman when the Khojak tunnel had not even been commenced; and we rode over the mountains to Chaman by the old road. All these experiences have taught me to know and to love the frontier, and to take no common interest in the Baluch and the Pathan. The reason for which I have been drawn to these regions, and have acquired this attachment is a simple one. I admire the manly spirit and the courage of the border tribesmen. I dislike war with them and desire to maintain an honourable peace. In many cases, as for instance formerly in Baluchistan, they are constantly quarrelling with each other, and are accordingly weak and disunited. I want them to unite with the British Raj in the settlement of their feuds and in the defence of their own country. Any one who attacks it should be regarded as a common foe. I want them to become, as many of them do, the trusted soldiers and the loyal feudatories of the Great Queen; and to realise that, while there is no use in fighting us, because we are so strong as always to defeat them in the end, their religion, their traditions, even their independence, are most safe when they enter into friendly relations with the British Government, and receive from us those guarantees which we are always ready to give in return for faithful service and good behaviour. I believe in speaking the truth boldly to the men of the frontier, as to all other men; and in telling them frankly where, in their own interests, they will do well and where they will do ill. The Sirdars of Baluchistan have learned this lesson from a long and successful experience; and the history of this country for the past twenty years, with its change from perpetual anarchy to peace, its steady progress, and its growth

in population, wealth, and contentment, is an evidence of the truth of my saying.

I am addressing to-day in this Durbar different classes of chiefs and persons, to each of whom I will say a few words. There are present here His Highness the Khan of Kalat and the Jam of Las Beyla. They possess ancient titles and they rule over famous or interesting territories. Among the ancestors of His Highness the Khan was Nasir Khan the First, who was beloved as a just and upright ruler. The example of great ancestors should never be forgotten by their descendants. If a State declines in interest or importance it is the ruler who is rightly held to blame. Rulers are invested with a supreme responsibility to their subjects. This may be difficult to exercise when their own position is insecure, and when they are exposed to political danger or to personal risk. But what excuse can there be for their not taking an active interest in the welfare of their people, and showing liberality and enlightenment in administration, when they are secured against any external danger by the protection of the British Power? The Sirkar gives with generous hand, but he also expects in return, and this obligation must be paid.

Secondly, I see present here the Sirdars of the Baluch confederacy. Sirdars, you owe to the British Government the reconciliation of your old disputes, and the general tranquillity which you now enjoy. I know your traditional loyalty. I remember the help that you rendered in the Afghan war. But, Sirdars, it is not only in times of crisis that you have a duty to Government. We rely upon your swords when fighting begins. But peace has its service not less than war; and I call upon you to perform this service. I have been shocked to hear of the too frequent outrages against Government in recent years in which Marris and Brahuis have been engaged. They are a disgrace to the tribes and a discredit to the Chiefs. I believe that it is possible for the Sirdars, if they are

resolute and united, to prevent these outrages. I am certain that, in many cases, it is possible for them to capture and to punish the criminals. I say to you, therefore, Sirdars, that the Government does not give to you your pay and service for nothing: and that I expect you to put a stop to these lawless proceedings, and to purge your tribal honour from this tarnish. When I see good service rendered, I am quick to recognise it; and it is with pleasure, therefore, that I have learned from my Agent, Mr. Barnes,[1] that in giving warning of a robber gang, Khan Sahib Baha-ud-din Bazai, and in attacking and dispersing a body of raiders, the Rustamzai Levies of Nushki, have recently rendered valuable help to Government. I am pleased to acknowledge the conduct of these men, and I hold it up as an example.

Thirdly, there are here present the Sirdars and Khans of districts under British Administration. You also, Sirdars and Khans, are mostly in receipt of pay or *muafi* allowances from Government; and you also have your corresponding duties to perform. There have recently taken place in British Baluchistan a number of murderous attacks upon Englishmen and Europeans, which are sometimes called, or miscalled, *ghaza*. Believe me, Sirdars, that the idea that any one can earn the favour of Almighty God by killing some one else against whom he bears no grudge, and who has done him no wrong, simply because he follows another religion—which is only another way of worshipping the same God—is one of the stupidest notions that ever entered into the brain of a human being. If we could lift the *purdah* of the future world and see what fate has attended these wretched murderers, I do not think that there would be many future *ghazis* on the Pathan border, or in Baluchistan. However, it is enough for me to deal with the attitude of Government: and about this I wish you to cherish no illusions. I am determined, so far as lies in the

[1] Afterwards Sir Hugh Barnes, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

power of Government, to put a stop to these abominable crimes. I shall shrink from no punishment however severe; I shall prohibit the carrying of all arms if I find that to be necessary; and I shall hold those responsible who are to blame. The leaders of the people can co-operate with Government in two ways. They can throw the whole weight of their influence and authority against the perpetrators of these vile outrages; and they can assist Government to capture the offenders. I shall not be slow to reward those who render good and faithful service. But I also shall not be quick to pardon those who are satisfied with doing nothing, and who openly neglect their duty.

Sirdars and Khans, as you are aware, a great famine is prevailing in many parts of India. How great it is, and with what efforts the Government of India is endeavouring to cope with it, is shown by the fact that nearly fifty lakhs of persons are being kept alive by the powerful hand of the Sirkar. We wish none of the people to die; and we spend the money of Government in giving them work and in saving them from starvation. In Baluchistan you never have a famine so terrible as this. But I know that, for three years past, there has been a deficient rainfall and considerable distress in certain parts of this country, particularly in the Marri and Bugti Hills, and a great mortality of cattle. Here, too, the Sirkar has not been behindhand in relief. A grant of one and a half lakhs has been made for the construction of roads by those who are in need; a quarter of a lakh is being spent in the distribution of grain among the Marris and Bugtis; and the Famine Relief Fund has recently made to Baluchistan a special grant of Rs. 10,000. I hope that these efforts may tide over the remaining period of scarcity, and that you will have good rains in the forthcoming summer.

And now, Your Highness and Sirdars, let me say, in conclusion, what a pleasure it is to me to inaugurate with this important Durbar the Memorial Hall to my

old friend, Sir Robert Sandeman, in which I am now speaking. "Sinneman Sahib," as you all called and knew him, has now been dead for eight years. But his name is not forgotten, and his work will go on living, as I hope, for ever.

For what was Sandeman's work for which we honour and remember his name? It was the building up of the powerful and peaceful frontier-province of Baluchistan with the good-will and acquiescence of its ruler, its Sirdars, and its people. When he first came to Kalat in 1875 the Baluchistan State was a prey to civil war, the tribes were disorganised and fighting, Peshin and Sibi were under Afghan Governors, there was no British Administration in the country, and the passes were either closed to trade, or were infested by marauding gangs. Contrast the present position, when we see a Baluchistan that is pacified and prosperous from the Arabian Sea to the Registan Desert, and from the Persian border to the Suleimans and the Gomul. I do not say that there are never troubles, or disorders, or disputes. But there is no civil war. There is a growing trade; justice is dispensed; property is increasingly safe; the population is multiplying; every man who does right knows that he is certain of the protection of the British Raj. This is Sir Robert Sandeman's work, and for this he will always be remembered.

It also seems to me a right thing that his memorial should be a Jirga Hall. For above all else he carried through his policy by his use of tribal methods, of which the Jirga is the foremost, by his knowledge of tribal character, and by his conciliation of tribal feelings. He was a strong and independent man. But he never coerced by force where he could lead by free will. He had the power of character to dictate, but he also had the tact and good-humour to persuade. It was for this that he was trusted by all men and was beloved by the people. I am proud to come here to-day as Viceroy of India, and to open this Memorial Hall to one who was

not merely my friend but a strong and withal kindly ruler of men and a noble-minded son of Great Britain. Since I was here with him, his successor with whom I stayed later on, Sir James Browne, has also passed away. He, too, had a wonderful influence with the tribes and was trusted by every Pathan on the border. The Frontier is a hard master. It is greedy of the life-blood of its servants: and both these brave and able men died at their posts. No more competent successor to them could have been found than my present Agent, Mr. Barnes. He learned his lessons in the school of Sandeman, and with energy and ability and a high sense of duty he has pursued the same path, and carried on the same work. I rejoice to think that Baluchistan, the apple of the Frontier's eye, has been so well guarded by a series of such devoted and capable officers of the Queen: and in such hands may it long continue to prosper.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

First in importance among the twelve reforms I placed the creation and pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy. It seemed to me that many of our blunders and misfortunes had arisen from the fact that there was no settled basis of policy, no principle of action operating throughout that long and troubled zone, but that each situation was apt to be dealt with as it arose, and according to the advice or influences that happened to be uppermost. I do not think that there is in this picture any disparagement of the officials who were responsible for what was done. They were dealing with a transitional epoch, in which the frontiers were being pushed forward by the pressure of events, without any policy having been formulated to keep pace with them, and in which there was a tendency to oscillate,

according to the predominant influence of the hour, between advance and retrogression. It has always seemed to me that a survey of the whole situation, in the light of our experience, our pledges, our armaments, and our general resources, ought to be productive of a code of frontier policy, which could, with consistency and without violent interruptions, be applied to the whole line of our North-Western frontier from the Pamirs to Baluchistan. Such a code we have endeavoured to evolve. Its main features consist in the withdrawal of our regular troops from advanced positions in tribal territory, their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border, and their replacement in tribal tracts by bodies of tribal levies trained up by British officers to act as a militia in defence of their own native valleys and hills; in other words, the substitution of a policy of frontier garrisons drawn from the people themselves, for the costly experiment of large forts and isolated posts thrown forward into a turbulent and fanatical country. This is the policy that we have been engaged in carrying into effect from Chitral on the North to the Gomul Valley on the South. I do not say that it is a policy unattended with risk. There is no frontier policy capable of being framed that could be described as absolutely safe. I have not uttered one boastful word about it since we began two years ago; and I am not even going to indulge in a murmur of self-congratulation now. The policy has to justify itself: and that it can only do in time. I do not say that it will save us from frontier warfare, or from occasional expeditions, or from chronic anxiety. They are the inevitable heritage of a boundary with the physical and ethnographical characteristics of the Indian frontier. All I claim for it is that it is a policy of military concentration as against diffusion, and of tribal conciliation in place of exasperation: and I desire that it should be given a fair chance. I do not at all care by what name it is called. One of the main errors of the past seems to me to have been that, instead of realising that there

could be such a thing as a policy upon which all parties could agree, it has been assumed that there were only two policies—the Lawrence policy and the Forward policy—and that a man who was fit to think must be an advocate of one or the other. In my view both of these policies have long ago been superannuated. I have frequently argued in the House of Commons and elsewhere that the policy of Lord Lawrence is dead from the complete change in the situation and from the efflux of time: and I think that there is nothing more dangerous or more futile than to summon dead men from their graves, and to dogmatise as to how they would have dealt with a situation that they could never have foreseen. Similarly, as regards the Forward School, the word is one of those elastic and pliable adjectives which are capable of assuming the most different meanings, from a statesmanlike prevision of military and political danger on and beyond the frontier, to a rash indulgence in military adventure. All I would say is, let us get away from the paralysing influence of labels. Let our new frontier policy be called by any name that men choose. Only let it be based, not upon obsolete political formulas, but upon up-to-date common sense; and if it approves itself as time goes on, let it become a tradition and endure.

The second reform that I set before myself was the constitution, after I had had time carefully to examine the whole situation, of the best form of administration for the frontier districts. As hon. members know, these studies led to the recommendation of a new Frontier Agency to be created out of the Trans-Indus Districts of the Punjab, and to be placed under the direct control of the Government of India. This proposal was unanimously accepted by my colleagues here, and has received the assent of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government at home. The papers have already been printed in the form of an Extraordinary Gazette, which will show to the public what were the steps by which we were led to these conclusions. I need not recapitulate

them now. We may perhaps feel some reasonable pleasure at the solution of a problem which has baffled successive Governments for twenty-five years. But our new province will have to be judged not by its promise, but by its results. In one respect I observe a great change in public opinion; for, whereas when I left England the majority of those persons whom I had consulted on the desirability of such a change were hostile to it, and it was doubtful what might be the reception accorded to it by the Press, I now observe with satisfaction that it is everywhere described as inevitable, and taken as a matter of course. This is rather the way with reforms. They are often vigorously and successfully resisted, as this proposal has been ever since the days of Lord Lytton, who was its first parent. But when they are ultimately carried, every one shakes hands, and says that the result was a foregone conclusion.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 26, 1902

A new Frontier Province has been started upon its career, and I am very hopeful that it will tend to unity and continuity of policy in respect of the Frontier. That it will result in the quicker despatch of business is quite certain, and has already been demonstrated in connection with recent events in Waziristan. We have fortunately had peace for three years in Chitral, Dir, the Khyber, the Samana, and the Kurram. The Chitral reliefs, which now take place in the autumn, have been conducted without the firing of a single shot. I am presently going up to Peshawar to inspect things myself, and to see the Frontier Khans and *jirgas* who will be summoned to meet me in Durbar. Our policy of substituting tribal militia for the regular troops in advanced positions on the Frontier is slowly but surely coming into operation. It is now more than two years since the British garrison

was able to leave the Khyber. The Samana Rifles are about to be entrusted with some of the Samana posts. The military are on the eve of being withdrawn from the Kurram, where the Kurram Rifles have reached a high standard of efficiency. The Khushalgarh-Kohat Railway has already entered Kohat, and the line is being pushed on towards Thal. The Kohat Pass Road has been opened, and is in constant use. On this section of the Frontier we may certainly point to good work done, peace so far unbroken, and greater security obtained.

We have observed with pleasure that the death of that remarkable man, the late Amir of Afghanistan, during the last year, has been followed by the tranquil succession of his son the Amir Habibulla without any of those disturbances which had for long been predicted. The latest news from Kabul does not mention any uneasiness, and we earnestly trust that the present ruler may consolidate his position and continue on a larger scale the reforms which had been initiated by his father. The most friendly relations prevail between the British Government and His Highness; and our hope is that the alliance between the two Governments may become even firmer and more intimate as time passes on. Where the interests of two parties are identical there exists a natural bond of union.

Further down the Frontier we have been involved throughout the past year in a blockade of the Mahsud Waziris. This turbulent tribe—one of the most unruly of the Pathan clans—had carried their raids and offences upon British territory and British protected subjects to a point at which the arrears of fines had reached a formidable sum. We offered them the opportunity of clearing off this debt, and of starting afresh under a system of tribal subsidies paid to the tribe, and distributed among themselves. They declined these terms, and a blockade was imposed and maintained with as much strictness and severity as were possible along a cordon many hundreds of miles in length, through a

country of immense physical difficulty. I observe that the policy of a blockade arouses almost as conflicting emotions in the bosoms of Frontier critics as used to do, for instance, the Frontier policies of Lord Lawrence and Lord Lytton. Those who prefer the drastic methods of an expedition denounce a blockade, and do their best to prove that it is either a failure or a sham. Those who from the experience of past expeditions, with their shocking disproportion of cost to result, distrust that method of procedure, as strongly favour a blockade. For my own part I regard the two as alternative methods of coercing a hostile or rebellious tribe, and the distinction between them as one of policy rather than of ethics. Of the two I would certainly prefer to try the blockade first, both because it is so far less costly, and because it is attended by so much less loss of life and acute suffering. But when, in the course of a blockade, the enemy persist in making a series of savage attacks upon our outposts and convoys and men, cutting up frequent parties and becoming possessed of a large number of long-range rifles, then I am not going to sit idle and allow these acts to be pursued with impunity. Therefore it was that towards the close of last year we decided, while still maintaining the blockade intact, to initiate a series of retaliatory sallies or reprisals upon those who had provoked them. These reprisals were conducted with great gallantry and endurance by the soldiers who were pushed forward from the cordon line. At no time were more than 5500 men engaged in active operations, being split up into smaller columns, which scoured the valleys of the tribesmen, inflicting what damage they could, and conclusively proving the vulnerability of even the heart of the Mahsud country. These proceedings soon brought the tribe to their knees. The balance of the fine was paid up, the captured rifles were surrendered, security was given for the restitution of flocks and herds seized by the Mahsuds during the blockade, and for the expulsion of outlaws from the country; the principle of tribal responsibility for future offences has been explicitly

accepted; and in these conditions the blockade has been finally raised, and a state of peace has been resumed. I said something just now about the relative cost of an expedition of the old-fashioned sort and a blockade. When I add that the former seldom costs less than a lakh a day, and when you see that my hon. military colleague has entered in this Budget an estimate for our Mahsud proceedings of less than 16 lakhs, the bulk of which will have been incurred by the military movements at the end, I think it will be admitted that we chose the more economical course. If there be any one who argues that this is a large price to pay for the recovery of a fine originally fixed at one lakh of rupees, I would remind him that the tribe have lost very much more than the fine. They have lost in the forfeited allowances of fifteen months a sum of 1½ lakhs, in the value of rifles surrendered by them ¼ lakh, in the value of property destroyed and live-stock captured by our troops 2½ lakhs: so that the total loss to the tribe, the fine included, has been in excess of 5 lakhs. If, therefore, the Government of India has disbursed a net sum of 10 lakhs, or even more, is that, I ask, a small price to pay for the restoration of peace along the most difficult and troubled section of our border? Whether the peace will be lasting or not, I will not presume to foretell. The Waziristan problem is not of my creation, and I can but handle it to the best of my ability, and endeavour to evolve order and tranquillity out of one of the most complex and troublesome situations that even the North-West Frontier has ever presented to the Government of India. I want nothing better than to live at peace with these people, and, as far as possible, to leave them alone. But, if they reject these overtures and persist in a policy of outrage and rapine and disorder, then I shall hit back and hit hard. While these events have been going on, the policy of the Frontier Militia in Waziristan has necessarily been somewhat in the air, though the South Waziri Militia, which included a good many Mahsuds who stood firm to us even through

the conflict with their countrymen, covered themselves on more than one occasion with considerable credit. Now that peace is restored, the Militia will have a better chance; and it is notable that one of the principal demands put forward by the defeated clansmen at the recent *jirga* was that larger opportunities might be afforded to them of enlisting in the British service in future.

DURBAR AT PESHAWAR

On April 26, 1902, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the Shahi Bagh, at Peshawar, for the reception of the Chiefs, Native gentlemen, and representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and adjoining trans-border tracts. In all some 3000 persons were present including the Mehtar of Chitral, the Khan of Dir, the Khan of Nawagai, the Chiefs of the Malakand Agency, the Chiefs of the Khyber, the Chiefs of the Hazara Border, and a large number of Durbaris and Native Officers. The Viceroy addressed the Durbar as follows, his speech being a full and complete statement of the Frontier policy of his Government:—

I have come to the Frontier to speak to the men of the Frontier. I want to tell them with my own lips what is the policy of Government, and what I am desirous that our relations should be. It is fifteen years since I first went up the Khyber, and nearly eight years since, after visiting Chitral, I went up for the second time on my way to Kabul; and I have followed every stage of Frontier history throughout that period. I know the British side; I have been on the Afghan side; and I have always tried my best to understand the Pathan side. These are the three sides of the question; and a man must always look at these three faces, and must endeavour to bring them into harmony, if he wishes to do any good on the Frontier.

Now the great desire of the trans-border tribesman is, I take it, to maintain his religion and his independence. The British Government have not the smallest

desire to interfere with either. Your religion is safe from attack at our hands, as every Mohammedan in India can tell you. But there are all sorts of dangerous spirits on the Frontier who are always trying to stir up religious strife; and we know of people who preach what is called a religious war. All I can say is that, as soon as it becomes a question of war, all religion in my eyes has gone out of it. I desire, not war of any description, but peace. We have had peace now for four years, and we have all been the gainers by it. I want no change, and, if you are wise, you will not want it either. But if war were ever forced upon me on the Frontier, I should not be frightened for one instant because people tried to call it *jehad* or anything else. I should carry it through to the end.

And next as regards your independence. There are plenty of firebrands always going up and down the border, telling the tribes that Government has designs upon your territory or your independence. More fabrications of this sort are started upon the Frontier than anywhere else in the world. It is a nursery-garden of inventions. I believe there has been a goodly crop during the past few weeks. If you came here to this Durbar, you were going to be seized and held as hostages; and I as Viceroy was going to make an announcement saying that the British Government was coming to take over your country. Now, have you not grown wise with years? Can you not see through this transparent nonsense? If we did not take Tirah, and Dir, and Swat, after the fighting in 1897, are we likely to try and take them now? The policy of the Government of India towards the trans-border men is very simple, and it is this. We have no wish to seize your territory or interfere with your independence. If you go on worrying and raiding and attacking, there comes a time when we say, This thing must be put an end to: and if the tribes will not help us to do it, then we must do it ourselves. The matter is thus almost entirely in your own hands. You are the keepers of your own house. We

are ready enough to leave you in possession. But if you dart out from behind the shelter of the door to harass and pillage and slay, then you must not be surprised if we return quickly and batter the door in.

The second feature of our policy is the payment to you of tribal allowances for keeping open the roads and passes, such as the Khyber and Kohat Passes and the Chitral Road, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. Here again the matter rests mainly with yourselves. We are ready to accept and deal with whatever form of Government or authority the particular tribe prefers. Sometimes it is an individual—be he a Mehtar, or a Nawab, or a Khan. Sometimes it is recognised Maliks or Sirdars. Sometimes it is the tribe as a whole. You can govern yourselves as you please: but when it comes to our handing over money to you in payment for services, there must be some person or persons to receive it: and they must be authorised and responsible, whether they are one man or a jirga of 1000. I doubt if there would ever be a Government in India that would treat you with one half the generosity that is shown by the British Government in respect of these payments. Supposing that we stopped them all to-morrow, where would you be? I know that whenever we have been fighting, the first thing that the tribe presses for, when peace is concluded, is to get back its allowances: and it has been in my power during the 3½ years that I have been here as Viceroy to restore a good many that had been forfeited or suspended.

The third feature in our policy is the extended military employment that we give you in the Local Levies and Militia. We have made great strides in this respect in recent years. Our policy has been one of liberality all along the border. On the northern part we have the Levies of Swat, and Dir, and Chitral. Lower down we have the Khyber Rifles, the Samana Rifles, the Kurram Militia, and the Waziristan Militia. In these corps we open to you a manly and a well-paid career for your

young men, several thousands of whom are thus provided for. They come in to us, they learn discipline, they get good wages for the maintenance of their wives and families, they have something to do instead of becoming *budmashes* and loafers; and we employ them in their own country, which they know well, and for whose continued independence their service is a guarantee. The better they behave in the militia, and the more that experiment is a success, the wider also shall we be disposed to open to them the door of the army itself, where we already have so many good recruits from the Frontier. I say to you, Khans and Maliks, that this is a generous policy, and that you ought to be grateful for it. There are always people ready to whisper in my ear that it is a dangerous policy, and that it is putting weapons into an enemy's hand. But I say in reply, why should he be an enemy? What is there to fight about? And if I put a knife into the hands of a Pathan, why should he, more than any one else, stab me with it in the back? The fact is we want some mutual trust in this matter. I have made a big step forward in the direction of trusting you. It is for you to make a return, by shutting your ears to the calumnies and the lies of those who want, for interested reasons, to have eternal strife upon the border, and by fulfilling, as honourable men, your part of an honourable bargain.

There is another consequence of peace, and the strategic preparations that make for peace; and this is security. As you know, since I have been Viceroy, we have been building railways to make the Frontier strong, and to enable us to support it at any point where it may be attacked. We have built the line to Dargai. We have continued the line from Peshawar to Jumrud. Of course the local mischief-makers did their best to make you believe that we were going to carry it on to Dacca, or Maidan, or somewhere else. But as usual they were found to be false prophets. Then I have opened the Kohat Pass by friendly arrangement with the tribes; and finally we have taken the railroad from

Kushalgarh to Kohat, and are carrying it on from Kohat to Thal.[1] These railroads are in British territory, and we required no man's permission to build them. Primarily they are intended to strengthen our position, and to enable us to move troops without delay in the event of trouble. But I will tell you why they should also be welcomed by you. They are supports to the Tribal Militia of which I have been speaking; and they will enable us to push troops forward at a moment's notice in reinforcement of the positions which we have committed, under British Officers, to their keeping. They will therefore make the local garrisons feel greater confidence in themselves. They will give them security in their loyalty, and will teach them that the hand of the Sirkar is not hidden away in his pocket, but that it is ready to spring forward to succour, to strike, or to avenge.

Observe, too, the effect that these railways have upon trade, and through trade upon a good understanding. The Pathan is a curious mixture. He is a man of war, but he is also a born trader. I see him conducting his business right away in the bazars of Bengal. I have come across him in Burma and Assam. The trade of Swat pours down the line to Nowshera. Some day the trade of Afghanistan will descend the other Frontier lines. As people trade together they get to know each other better, and every mile of Frontier railroad that we build will turn out in the long run to be a link in the chain of friendship as well as of peace.

There is another respect in which you can help forward the policy of Government, and at the same time do good to yourselves. Every man on the Frontier is keen about his personal sense of honour. He feels disgrace if it is lowered, and it is one of the chief objects of his life to keep it unstained. We appreciate this sentiment, and, where legitimate, we sympathise with its gratification. But what I say to you is this. Let your sense of honour be a true and not a false sense; let it be measured

[1] This line is now complete and is being converted to broad gauge, and extended to Parachinar.

by just standards; and let it have a worthy and not a selfish or contemptible aim. Let the qualities that go to make up your honour be truth, and fidelity to your word, and decent and upright conduct in life; and keep a control upon the passions of blood-spilling and revenge. You may rest assured that, as long as you maintain and act up to a high and proper standard of *izzat*, we shall uphold your position, and you will not be shamed in the eyes of your countrymen.

And now I turn to all the members of this Durbar, on whichever side of the Frontier they reside. I have come to Peshawar on the present occasion to show my interest in the new Frontier Province, and my sympathy with the work which I have entrusted to the capable hands of Colonel Deane.[1] I selected him for the post because he knows you all well, and has your confidence, and because his heart is in the task. Needless to say, when the province was started all the false rumours that I spoke about a little while ago were flying about, and a great many foolish things were said and believed. It was rumoured that we were going to be more severe towards the people, and to press upon them with a heavy hand. Now that nothing dreadful has happened, perhaps you have learned to esteem these predictions at their true worth. I can tell you in a sentence why the Government of India created this separate administration. It was because we thought that the peace and tranquillity and contentment of the Frontier were of such importance that they ought to be under the direct eye of the Government of India and of its head, instead of somebody else. Business will be better done and more quickly done; and there will not be long and vexatious delays. The system of rule will not be altered, but it will be more efficiently worked. Every man in the Frontier districts ought to look upon it as a direct gain to himself that he has a local Government on the spot, and that there is nobody above that local Government

[1] Now Sir H. Deane, first Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province.

but the Government of India. He ought further to appreciate the fact that the head of the local Government is an officer who can speak his language, who knows his affairs, and who has spent the best part of his life in the Frontier districts. Merit will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced, and punishment, where punishment is needed, will be more swift.

It is for the leading men of the Province and the Frontier to show their sense of the greater importance of their position by assisting the local Administration in its task. Particularly is this necessary in the detection and punishment of violent crime. The Peshawar and Kohat and Bunnu Districts, as you know, have enjoyed for some time a bad reputation in this respect: and it is for the leaders of native opinion and society to purge it. Without their aid the Native Magistrates and Police can be of little avail. The leading men have not been given titles and jagirs simply in order to enable them to sit down and do nothing for the remainder of their lives. Each of them has a sphere of influence of his own: and all together have a collective sphere of influence that embraces the entire province. They are expected to surrender their own private feuds, and to co-operate with the Government in the suppression of crime and the discouragement of acts that lead to crime. They have a great responsibility, and I call upon them to exercise it. When they have quarrels with each other, let them abstain from civil litigation, with all its pitfalls and expenses and delays, and let them settle their differences by arbitration, as I believe that they are showing an increasing inclination to do: and when they see trouble brewing against Government let them throw their whole influence on to the side of law and order, and steadily discountenance treachery and wrong-doing.

I see no reason to doubt that a prosperous future awaits this Province. I regard the new administration as already firmly established: and as long as I am in

India, and I hope for many years afterwards, it will be watched by the Government of India with a fond and parental eye. But I repeat that your destinies are mainly in your own hands, and I look to local pride and local patriotism to see that they are jealously guarded, and that the North-West Frontier Province shows itself ever more and more deserving of the interest that has secured for it a separate existence and an independent name.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

I remarked just now that I should have something to say about Frontier Policy. I have, I think, only spoken twice about this subject in these debates in six consecutive sessions. It is perhaps scarcely realised in this country that the Foreign Department, which is under the direct charge of the Viceroy, is the most laborious of all. But it pursues its path in a silence which I should be the last to regret, and which is only broken by the storm of criticism that bursts forth when there is an outbreak of trans-frontier war. It is not without some feeling of congratulation that I look back upon five years unmarked by a single expedition on the entire North-West Frontier, unless the brief military sallies that were undertaken in order to close the Mahsud Waziri Blockade can be so described. This is the first time that such a claim could be made for a quarter of a century. In the petty operations that have taken place on a frontier over 1200 miles in length only 42 of our men have been killed during that time; 67 more lost their lives in the course of the Mahsud Blockade. But I should be reluctant to measure results by lives alone, or even by money alone, although the economies that have resulted both from withdrawal of troops and from absence of fighting have been very great. I would prefer

to look at the spirit of increasing harmony and contentment among the tribes and at the relations that are growing up along the entire border.

At the end of 1898 the embers of the Tirah conflagration were only just cooling down. New agreements had not yet been entered into with the tribes. Large garrisons of British troops were cantoned in posts far beyond the frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in the Tochi; great schemes for costly fortifications were on foot, and we seemed likely once more to tread the vicious circle that has beguiled us so often before. My Councillors and I set ourselves not so much to prevent future war by preparing for it as to produce peace by creating the requisite conditions. Our policy was summed up in these principles: withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, concentration of British forces in British territory behind them as a safeguard and a support, improvement of communications in the rear. A necessary condition of the successful execution of this policy was the creation of a new administration on the Frontier, specially equipped for the purpose, and invested with a more direct responsibility that a local Government of the old type. Perhaps those who are so severely denouncing the Government of India as a province-maker just now[1] might cast their eyes back to the events of three years ago. We were scarcely less attacked in some quarters for the creation of the Frontier Province then. But who would now go back from it, or who would dispute that Frontier affairs are conducted under it with infinitely superior despatch, with greater smoothness, and so far with better results, than under the former system?

Let me now ask hon. members to accompany me on a brief tour round the North-West Frontier, from Gilgit to Baluchistan, so that they may see in each case how we stand. We have withdrawn all regular troops from Gilgit, which is exclusively garrisoned, along with its

[1] The allusion is to the proposed partition of Bengal.

subordinate posts, by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. If we pursue our way westwards towards Chitral we come to Mastuj, which is the headquarters of a corps of Chitrali irregulars, or scouts, whom we are training up for the defence against invasion of the many defensible positions in their narrow and rugged ravines. Chitral itself is a point upon which I look with some satisfaction. Before I came out to India I was one of the foremost combatants in the movement to retain that place within our political and strategical boundary. We won the day in England, though only by the accident of Lord Rosebery's Government being turned out at the critical moment. However, even when I arrived here, I remember being warned that Chitral was the point of danger, that the line of communication between Dir and Chitral was one of extreme tenuity and risk, and that if the connection gradually faded into nothing no one would be the worse. I, on the contrary, declared my fervent intention to maintain this connection, as absolutely essential to our scheme of Frontier defence, and my conviction that it could be done, I will not say without risk, but with success. Since that time we have five times marched our reliefs up and down the Dir Road—quite the most fanatical corner of the mountain border—without a shot being fired. Our troops have been concentrated at the extreme southern end of the Chitral country at Drosh, and the force has been reduced by one-third: while the posts vacated and all outlying posts are now held by levies raised for the purpose from the Chitralis themselves. The young Mehtar of Chitral has three times been down to see me in India, and if any one were to propose a British withdrawal from Chitral, I know very well from whom the first protest would come. Further, we have just connected Chitral by telegraph with Gilgit. Continuing southwards, I find that in Dir and Swat we had a garrison in 1899 of 3550 men. I withdrew the Khar Movable Column in 1903, and our troops, who are now concentrated at Chakdarra, where is the bridge over the

Swat River and the starting-point of the Dir-Chitral road, at the Malakand and at Dargai, have been reduced by more than one-half, the outlying posts being held by levies from Dir and Swat. The Chiefs of Dir and Nawagai have twice visited me in India, and they, in common with all the border chieftains from Hunza to Swat, were included among our guests at the Delhi Durbar. We have fortified the Malakand, and connected Dargai by a narrow-gauge line with Nowshera on the Peshawar Railway, the Kabul River being bridged at Nowshera for the purpose. We are, therefore, in an immeasurably stronger position to meet any sudden or fanatical outbreak in those parts. The elements of unrest are always there, and we shall probably some day have trouble again. But for the moment the omens are favourable: and trade, which has sprung up in a surprising manner, is a great pacificator. Then I come to the Khyber, where in 1899 we had a British garrison of 3700 men. The whole of these have long ago been withdrawn: and the Khyber Rifles, raised from the Pass Afridis and neighbouring tribes, which had dwindled to a total of 800 after the campaign, have now been reorganised into two battalions, officered by Englishmen. With them we hold the entire Pass, with its connected posts and fortifications. These we rebuilt at an outlay of 5 lakhs, instead of the 15 which had been estimated for in 1898. We have also made, by agreement with the tribes and by tribal labour, the alternative route from Peshawar to Lundi Kotal through the Mullagori country that was so vainly pressed for fifteen years ago, and have connected Peshawar by the broad guage with Jumrud. We have opened the route through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar to Kohat by arrangement with the tribes: and Kohat has been connected with the Indian railway system at Kushalgarh by a 2 ft. 6 in. line, which, as soon as we have completed the new bridge over the Indus at Kushalgarh, will be converted into broad gauge.[1] Continuing southwards, we have created

[1] This has now been done.

a body called the Samana Rifles, nearly 500 strong, who have already taken over nearly the whole of the posts upon and below the Samana that were held by regulars five years ago. Our own forces there, which were 1700 strong, have now been reduced to 600, and will, I expect, before long be altogether withdrawn. Simultaneously we have created a flank support to this position by running the railway from Kohat to Thal at the mouth of the Kurram Valley. From this the regulars have been altogether withdrawn, and the two battalions of the Kurram Militia, 1400 strong, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles, and commanded by British Officers, are its sole garrison. In the troubled mountain region between the head of the Kurram and Waziristan we have also settled our border disputes by friendly arrangement with the Amir. Then we come to Waziristan. Here we have cleared out, at the second attempt, the nest of murderous outlaws who had created an Alsatia at Gumatti, near Bunnu. We have made agreements with the tribes for the opening up of the turbulent corner between Thal and the Tochi, and we have thus been able to proceed at leisure with our policy of conciliation and concentration in the Waziri country. There we were delayed for a long time by the turbulent contumacy of the Mahsuds; and the militia experiment, which we had introduced, also proceeded somewhat slowly. The blockade, however, vigorously and unremittingly pursued, and followed by a series of sharp and unexpected punitive counter-raids into the Mahsud valleys, brought the tribe to reason, and matters are now proceeding so evenly that we have recently raised the North Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Tochi, to a strength of 1200 men, and the South Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Gomal, to a strength of 1450. In 1899 the British garrisons of these two valleys numbered 4000. Before next cold weather the whole of these will have been withdrawn. Waziristan will for some years to come be a section of the frontier that will require careful watching. But the consciousness of the tribes that they

are trusted to bear arms in defence of their country, the security of good employment and regular pay, the tranquillising influence of improved communications, and the knowledge that we want to live at peace with them, rather than at war, are all agencies on the right side. The withdrawal of the garrisons that I have named has been balanced by the concentration of the requisite supporting columns at Kohat and Bunnu, and the military garrisons in these two districts number 4200 and 2700 respectively. Similarly, the Gomul is supported from Dera Ismail Khan with a garrison of 3000. Thus along the entire stretch of frontier which I have been describing the situation is completely revolutionised since 1899. If we regard the case from the point of view of British troops, there are now only 5000 across the administrative border of British India as against 10,200; but the supporting garrisons within our border have been increased from 22,000 to 24,000, and have been strengthened by railway connections which were not then in existence. On the tribal side we have called into existence a body of men representing three grades of organisation—Levies over 1000 strong, Border Military Police over 3000, Border Militia 5800. The experiment may still be said to be, if not in its infancy at any rate in its childhood, and I will not indulge in premature laudation. But five years is a long time on the Frontier, and every year gained there is worth two elsewhere. This part of India may not be much interested in what is passing so far away. But I am speaking to-day through this representative assembly to a wider audience, and I am venturing to inform the entire country how its defences stand.

I have not much time to pursue my course southwards and westwards through Baluchistan towards the Persian frontier. But I may mention in a sentence that we have done much to consolidate our position there. We have taken Nuskhi on perpetual lease from the Khan of Kelat: we are constructing the Quetta-Nuskhi Railway, and shall finish it next

year[1]; we have built up and popularised the Nuskhi-Seistan trade route, and have planted our officers in Seistan and on the Eastern borders of Persia in sufficient number to watch over our interests and to resist hostile designs. Finally, we are consolidating our position in Mekran.[2] Perhaps, however, the measure of the frontier security which we have enjoyed can best be estimated by the ease and safety with which we have been able during the past five years to find troops for service elsewhere, in South Africa, China, and Somaliland. At one time our Indian Army was short in the interest of these Imperial campaigns, for which, of course, the Home Government paid, by over 31,000 men. Increased security here has therefore meant increased power of assistance elsewhere.

[Here followed a paragraph about Foreign Affairs, which has been extracted and reproduced under that heading.]

[1] It was opened to traffic in 1905.

[2] The allusion is to the formation of a Levy-corps in Panjgur.

GAME PRESERVATION

BURMA GAME PRESERVATION ASSOCIATION, RANGOON

AMONG the various Addresses that were presented to the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit to Rangoon on December 10, 1901, was one from the Burma Game Preservation Association. In reply Lord Curzon indicated the views upon which he felt disposed to act. The subject was afterwards exhaustively examined by the Government of India, and the heads of a draft Bill were circulated to the various local Governments in 1903. In reply an immense number of opinions were received, and these were being digested with a view to legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council when Lord Curzon left India.

The question of Game Preservation in India is one that may appeal, in my judgment, not merely to the sportsman, but also to the naturalist and the friend of animal life. It is certainly not through the spectacles of the sportsman only that I would regard it, though I yield to no one in my recognition of the manly attractions of shikar. Such considerations, however, might be suspected of a selfish tinge, and I think that in approaching the matter we should, so far as possible, put our own predilections in the background, and view it in the public interest at large.

There are some persons who doubt or dispute the progressive diminution of wild life in India. I think that they are wrong. The facts seem to me to point

entirely in the opposite direction. Up to the time of the Mutiny lions were shot in Central India.[1] They are now confined to an ever-narrowing patch of forest in Kathiawar.[2] I was on the verge of contributing to their still further reduction a year ago myself; but fortunately I found out my mistake in time, and was able to adopt a restraint which I hope that others will follow. Except in Native States, the Terai, and forest reserves, tigers are undoubtedly diminishing. This is perhaps not an unmixed evil. The rhinoceros is all but exterminated save in Assam. Bison are not so numerous or so easy to obtain as they once were. Elephants have already had to be protected in many parts. Above all, deer, to which you particularly allude in the case of Burma, are rapidly dwindling. Every man's hand appears to be against them, and each year thins the herds. Finally, many beautiful and innocent varieties of birds are pursued for the sake of their plumage, which is required to minister to the heedless vanity of European fashion.

The causes of this diminution in the wild fauna of India are in some cases natural and inevitable, in others they are capable of being arrested. In the former class I would name the steady increase of population, the widening area of cultivation, and the improvement in means of communication—all of them the sequel of what is popularly termed progress in civilisation. Among the artificial and preventable causes I would name the great increase in the number of persons who use firearms, the immense improvement in the mechanism and range of the weapons themselves, the unchecked depredations of native hunters and poachers, and in some cases I

[1] Before leaving India Lord Curzon persuaded Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior to attempt the introduction of the lion into the wild outlying parts of his State, and procured for him animals both from the East Africa Protectorate and from the Soudan. It will be interesting to see whether the experiment succeeds.

[2] This is the Gir Forest in the State of Junagadh in Kathiawar. The preservation of the fast dwindling number of lions in consequence of the Viceroy's intervention led to a rapid multiplication of their numbers, and in 1905 there were said to be over sixty in existence.

regret to say, a lowering of the standard of sport, leading to the shooting of immature heads, or to the slaughter of females. The result of all these agencies, many of which are found in operation at the same time, and in the same place, cannot fail to be a continuous reduction in the wild game of India.

I cannot say that the Government of India have hitherto shown any great boldness in dealing with the matter. But there has been, and still is, in my opinion, very good reason for proceeding cautiously. There are some persons who say that wild animals are as certainly destined to disappear in India as wolves, for instance, have done in England, and that it is of no use to try and put back the hands of the clock. I do not attach much value to this plea, which seems to me rather pusillanimous, as well as needlessly pessimistic. There are others who say that, in a continent so vast as India, or, to narrow the illustration, in a province with such extensive forest reserves as Burma, the wild animals may be left to look after themselves. This argument does not impress me either; for the distant jungles are available only to the favoured few, and it is the disappearance of game from the plains and from accessible tracts that it is for the most part in question. I do, however, attach great value to the consideration that wild animal life should not be unduly fostered at the expense of the occupations or the crops of the people. Where depredations are committed upon crops, or upon flocks and herds, the cultivator cannot be denied, within reasonable limits, the means of self-protection. Similarly, it is very important that any restrictions that are placed upon the destruction of game should not be worked in a manner that may be oppressive or harassing to his interests.

Hitherto the attempts made by Government to deal with the question by legislation, or by rules and notifications based on statute, have been somewhat fitful and lacking in method. In parts, as I have already mentioned, elephants have been very wisely and properly

protected. A close season has been instituted for certain kinds of game. An Act has been passed for the preservation of wild birds. And I observe from one of the enclosures to your memorial that your ingenuity has not shrunk from the suggestion that a deer may reasonably be considered a wild bird. Under this Act the possession or sale during the breeding season of the flesh of certain wild birds in municipal or cantonment areas is forbidden. Then again rules have been issued under the Forest Act protecting certain classes of animals in certain tracts.

The general effect of these restrictions has been in the right direction. But I doubt if they have been sufficiently co-ordinated, or if they have gone far enough; and one of my last acts at Simla, before I had received or read your memorial, was to invite a re-examination of the subject with the view of deciding whether we might proceed somewhat farther than we have already done. We must be very careful not to devise any too stereotyped or Procrustean form of procedure; since there is probably no matter in which a greater variety of conditions and necessities prevails; and the rules or precautions which would be useful in one place might be positively harmful in another. Among the suggestions which will occur to all of us as deserving of consideration are some greater restriction, by the charge of fees or otherwise, upon the issue of gun licences, the more strict enforcement of a close season for certain animals, the prohibition of the possession or sale of flesh during the breeding season, penalties upon netting and snaring during the same period, restrictions of the facilities given to strangers to shoot unlimited amounts of game, and upon the sale and export of trophies and skins. I daresay that many other ideas will occur to us in the discussion of the matter, or may be put forward in the press and elsewhere by those who are qualified to advise. My own idea would be, if possible, to frame some kind of legislation of a permissive and elastic nature, the provisions of which should be applied to the various

provinces of India in so far only as they were adapted to the local conditions. The question of Native States somewhat complicates the matter. But I doubt not that the Government would, where required, meet with the willing co-operation of the Chiefs, many of whom are keen and enthusiastic patrons both of animal life and of sport. The subject is not one that can be hastily taken up or quickly decided, but I have probably said enough to show you that I personally am in close sympathy with your aims; and I need hardly add that, if the Government of India finds itself able, after further study, to proceed with the matter, an opportunity will be given to those who are interested in each province to record their opinions.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

MUTINY TELEGRAPH MEMORIAL, DELHI

On April 19, 1902, the Viceroy unveiled the Mutiny Memorial erected at Delhi to commemorate the services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff on May 11, 1857. He also presented the medal of the Victorian Order to William Brendish, the sole survivor of the Delhi Signallers, on duty that day. He spoke as follows:—

We are met here to-day to commemorate an incident that happened nearly half a century ago, before a good many of those whom I am addressing—and I am in the same position myself—were born. In a sense, indeed, we are repairing the omissions of our predecessors. For who can doubt that the telegraph signallers of Delhi, on that famous day of tragedy, May 11, 1857, performed an act that was worthy of perpetuation, and that ought to be perpetuated, as is now tardily being done? One of them, young Todd, was killed early in the morning by the Mutineers, while endeavouring to re-establish telegraphic communication with Meerut, from which direction the revolted troops were advancing. The second, Pilkington, died about ten years later. But the third, Brendish, who sent off the historic message to Umballa that has been so often quoted, describing the arrival of the Mutineers and the events in Delhi, is still amongst us. He is here to-day to see this memorial erected to his bravery and to that of his comrades, and it must be a proud event to him to look

back through the long vista of years, and in advanced life to see this public recognition of deeds in which he bore a share when a boy, and to be made the recipient of a special honour at the hands of his Sovereign.

I was delighted when Mr. Pitman, then Director-General of Telegraphs, consulted me, during my first year in India, as to the propriety of erecting this memorial. I enthusiastically supported the idea, because I hold that the brave and noble deeds of men ought to be publicly commemorated in honour to themselves and as an example to others. I do not mean that, should the situation recur—which God forbid—other men would be drawn to do similar deeds by the recollection that their forerunners had been honoured for doing the like before. For these heroic acts are not deliberately performed. They are done on the spur of the moment, without forethought, by those who are by instinct patriotic and courageous. But I do say that, whatever in life or in history lifts humanity above the ordinary level, and makes us forget the petty and the squalid, of which there is unfortunately so much in our midst, whatever shows human character in its highest aspect, namely, as resourceful, unselfish, and daring—that that is worthy of being held up to praise for the sake of posterity; and that its public commemoration cannot fail to leave its mark upon the minds of future generations. The bad and low in humanity is sufficiently prominent while it exists. Let us, then, bury it and put it out of sight. But the honourable and glorious—this let us seize hold of and identify, and let it live for ever.

My second reflection is this. I have heard it argued by some that incidents like the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Cawnpore massacre, the defence of the Residency at Lucknow, the fighting and siege of Delhi, in which the British and Native races of India have been in conflict, ought not to be commemorated, but ought, so to speak, to be slurred over and wrapped up in oblivion. Indeed, one ingenious gentleman wrote a long work to prove

that the Black Hole incident at Calcutta had never taken place, because some people who were not there had in their writings not said anything about it. I hold precisely the opposite view about all these cases. Tragedies and horrors and disasters do occur in the history of men, and it is useless to pretend that they do not. In the history of India they have not been wanting; and, as in the case of the Mutiny, there have been instances where the racial element was introduced, and where there were deeds of blackness and shame. But that is no reason for ignoring them. Pass over them the sponge of forgiveness; blot them out with the finger of mercy and of reconciliation. But do not pretend that they did not take place, and do not, for the sake of a false and mawkish sentiment, forfeit your chance of honouring that which is worthy of honour. All these events are wayside marks on the onward stride of time. God Almighty placed them there; and if some of the stepping-stones over which the English and the Indian people in this country have marched to a better understanding, and a truer union, have been slippery with human blood, do not ignore or cast them away. Rather let us wipe them clear of their stains, and preserve them intact for the teaching of those that come after.

I think that this view becomes even more important and true, when we remember that, in many of these cases, it was not the white men on one side and the Indians on the other. In the Mutiny, as is well known, there was no such general division. In the Telegraph Department, as elsewhere, there were many of the Native clerks who stood loyally to their service and their masters in those terrible days. When I was in Lucknow I was delighted to see the memorial which Lord Northbrook, when Viceroy, had set up there to the Native troops who perished in the defence of the Residency. They merited equal honour with the white men who fell. Similarly, in the present case, I learn that among the subscribers to this memorial have been more than

300 Natives of India, at present connected with the Telegraph Department. This shows that their views are identical with those which I have expressed, and that they are as proud of the deeds of the Delhi European Telegraphic Staff of May 1857 as any Europeans can be. Should the occasion ever arise, I doubt not that many of them, at the risk of life, would be ready to follow the same example.

I have only two further observations to make. Though this obelisk commemorates in particular the services of the Delhi signallers, Pilkington and Brendish, and the assistant, Todd, it also records the names of more than a dozen other members of the Telegraph Department who perished in the discharge of their duty in other parts of Northern India during the Mutiny. It was a mysterious dispensation of Providence that had allowed for the practical completion of a chain of electric telegraph throughout Northern India just before the Mutiny broke out. Where we should have been without it who can tell? The wires were constantly cut, and many brave officers were killed. But many others stuck to their posts unceasingly and unflinchingly; the work was every whit as important, and not less risky, than that of the military; and in the defeat of the rebels, and in the re-establishment of British power, the Indian Telegraph Department will always have the pride of remembering that it bore no mean or inconspicuous part.

Finally, it gives me great pleasure, as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign, to pin this medal of the Victorian Order on to the breast of William Brendish, the survivor of those immortal days. I felt that in his Coronation year His Majesty would like to honour this old and faithful servant who had helped to save the British Empire in India nearly half a century gone by; and accordingly I wrote to His Majesty and placed before him the facts of the case. He sent me this medal in reply, and asked me to confer it, with an expression of his gracious interest and esteem, upon the retired veteran

who earned fame as a young lad in those imperishable scenes that were enacted within a few hundred yards of this very spot forty-five years ago. I now gladly comply with His Majesty's behest as regards Brendish, and I also proceed to unveil this Monument.

HOLWELL MONUMENT, CALCUTTA

On December 19, 1902, the Viceroy unveiled the reproduction of the Holwell Monument, which he has presented to the City of Calcutta in memory of the Europeans who perished on the 20th June 1756, in the adjoining prison of old Fort William, known as the Black Hole. The original monument stood at the north-west corner of Tank Square, known as Dalhousie Square, between what are now the Custom House and Writers' Buildings, and it was erected by Holwell, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, and afterwards Governor of Fort William, over the bodies of those who had died, which were thrown on the next morning into the ditch outside the East gate of the Fort. The new monument is on the same site, and is a reproduction of the old design in marble instead of brick and plaster. The Viceroy spoke as follows:—

I daresay that the worthy citizens of Calcutta may have been a good deal puzzled on many occasions during the past four years to see me rummaging about this neighbourhood and that of the adjoining Post Office in the afternoons, poking my nose into all sorts of obscure corners, measuring, marking, and finally ordering the erection of marble memorials and slabs. This big pillar which I am now about to unveil, and the numerous tablets on the other side of the street, are the final outcome of these labours. But let me explain how it is that they have come about and what they mean.

When I came out to India in this very month four years ago, one of the companions of my voyage was that delightful book *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, by Mr. Busteed, formerly well known as an officer in the Calcutta Mint, and now living in retirement at home.

There I read the full account of the tragic circumstances under which the old Fort William, which stood between the site where I am now speaking and the river, was besieged and taken by the forces of Siraj-ud-Dowlah in 1756; and of the heroism and sufferings of the small band of survivors who were shut up for an awful summer's night in June in the tiny prison known as the Black Hole, with the shocking result that of the 146 who went in only 23 came out alive. I also read that the monument which had been erected shortly after the disaster by Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors, who wrote a detailed account of that night of horror, and who was afterwards Governor of Fort William, in order to commemorate his fellow-sufferers who had perished in the prison, had been taken down, no one quite knows why, in or about the year 1821; and Mr. Busteed went on to lament, as I think very rightly, that whereas for sixty years after their death Calcutta had preserved the memory of those unhappy victims, ever since that time, now eighty years ago, there had been no monument, not even a slab or an inscription, to record their names and their untimely fate.

It was Mr. Busteed's writings accordingly that first called my attention to this spot, and that induced me to make a careful personal study of the entire question of the site and surroundings of old Fort William. The whole thing is now so vivid in my mind's eye that I never pass this way, without the Post Office and Custom House and the modern aspect of Writers' Buildings fading out of my sight, while instead of them I see the walls and bastions of the old Fort exactly behind the spot where I now stand, with its Eastern gate, and the unfinished ravelin in front of the gate, and the ditch in front of the ravelin, into which the bodies of those who had died in the Black Hole were thrown the next morning, and over which Holwell erected his monument a few years later.

Nearly twenty years ago Mr. Roskell Bayne, of the East Indian Railway, made a number of diggings and

measurements that brought to light the dimensions of the old Fort, now almost entirely covered with modern buildings; and I was fortunate enough when I came here to find a worthy successor to him and coadjutor to myself in the person of Mr. C. R. Wilson, of the Indian Education Department, who had carried Mr. Bayne's inquiries a good deal further, cleared up some doubtful points, corrected some errors, and fixed with accuracy the exact site of the Black Hole and other features of the Fort.[1] All of these sites I set to work to commemorate while the knowledge was still fresh in our minds. Wherever the outer or inner line of the curtain and bastions of old Fort William had not been built over I had them traced on the ground with brass lines let into stone—you will see some of them on the main steps of the Post Office—and I caused white marble tablets to be inserted in the walls of the adjoining buildings with inscriptions stating what was the part of the old building that originally stood there. I think there are some dozen of these tablets in all, each of which tells its own tale.

I further turned my attention to the site of the Black Hole, which was in the premises of the Post Office, and could not be seen from the street, being shut off by a great brick and plaster gateway. I had this obstruction pulled down, and an open iron gate and railings erected in its place. I had the site of the Black Hole paved with polished black marble, and surrounded with a neat iron railing, and, finally, I placed a black marble tablet with an inscription above it, explaining the memorable and historic nature of the site that lies below. I do not know if cold-weather visitors to Calcutta, or even the residents of the city itself, have yet found out the existence of these memorials. But I venture to think that

[1] Mr. C. R. Wilson, since unfortunately dead, also constructed under Lord Curzon's instructions a beautiful model in teak wood of old Fort William and the Black Hole, which is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Collection at Calcutta; and he further wrote an explanatory pamphlet, which is on sale there. His larger work on the same subject is now being brought out in the new Records Series of the Government of India.

they are a permanent and valuable addition to the possessions and sights of the Capital of British rule in India.

At the same time I proceeded to look into the question of the almost forgotten monument of Holwell. I found a number of illustrations and descriptions of it in the writings of the period, and though these did not in every case precisely tally with each other, yet they left no doubt whatever as to the general character of the monument, which consisted of a small pillar or obelisk rising from an octagonal pedestal, on the two main faces of which were inscriptions written by Holwell, with the names of a number of the slain. Holwell's monument was built of brick covered over with plaster, like all the monuments of the period in the old Calcutta cemeteries; and I expect that it must have been crumbling when it was taken down in 1821, for I have seen a print in which it was represented with a great crack running down the side, from the top to the base, as though it had been struck by lightning. I determined to reproduce this memorial with as much fidelity as possible in white marble, to re-erect it on the same site, and to present it as my personal gift to the city of Calcutta in memory of a never-to-be-forgotten episode in her history, and in honour of the brave men whose life-blood had cemented the foundations of the British Empire in India. This pillar accordingly, which I am about to unveil, is the restoration to Calcutta of one of its most famous landmarks of the past, with some slight alteration of proportion, since the exact dimensions of Holwell's original pillar were found to be rather stunted when placed in juxtaposition to the tall buildings by which it is now surrounded. There is some reason to think, from the evidence of old maps, that the ditch in which the bodies were interred and the earlier monument above them were situated a few yards to the eastwards of the site of the new monument: and I had excavations made last summer to see whether we could discover either the foundations of Holwell's obelisk, or any traces of the

burial below them. The edge of the old ditch was clearly found, but nothing more. However, that we are within a few feet of the spot where those 123 corpses were cast on the morning of the 21st of June 1756, there can be no shadow of a doubt, and their memory is now preserved, I hope for ever, within a few yards of the spot where they suffered and laid down their lives.

There are, however, two very material alterations that I have made in the external features of the monument. Holwell's inscriptions, written by himself with the memory of that awful experience still fresh in his mind, contained a bitter reference to the personal responsibility for the tragedy of Siraj-ud-Dowlah, which I think is not wholly justified by our fuller knowledge of the facts, gathered from a great variety of sources, and which I have therefore struck out as calculated to keep alive feelings that we would all wish to see die. Further, though Holwell's record contained less than 50 names out of the 123 who had been suffocated in the Black Hole, I have, by means of careful search into the records both here and in England, recovered not only the Christian names of the whole of these persons, but also more than 20 fresh names of those who also died in the prison. So that the new monument records the names of no fewer than 60 of the victims of that terrible night.

In the course of my studies, in which I have been ably assisted by the labours of Mr. S. C. Hill, of the Record Department, who is engaged in bringing out a separate work on the subject.[1] I have also recovered the names of more than 20 other Europeans who, though they did not actually die in the Black Hole, yet were either killed at an earlier stage of the Siege, or having come out of the Black Hole alive, afterwards succumbed to its effects. These persons seem to me equally to deserve commemoration with those who were smothered to death in the prison, and accordingly I have entered their names on the remaining panels of this monument. We therefore have inscribed on this memorial the names

[1] This work has now appeared, entitled *Bengal in* 1756-7, 3 vols., 1905.

of some 80 persons who took part in those historic events which established the British dominion in Bengal nearly a century and a half ago. They were the pioneers of a great movement, the authors of a wonderful chapter in the history of mankind: and I am proud that it has fallen to my lot to preserve their simple and humble names from oblivion, and to restore them to the grateful remembrance of their countrymen.

In carrying out this scheme I have been pursuing one branch of a policy to which I have deliberately set myself in India, namely, that of preserving, in a breathless and often thoughtless age, the relics and memorials of the past. To me the past is sacred. It is often a chronicle of errors and blunders and crimes, but it also abounds in the records of virtue and heroism and valour. Anyhow, for good or evil, it is finished and written, and has become part of the history of the race, part of that which makes us what we are. Though human life is blown out as easily as the flame of a candle, yet it is something to keep alive the memory of what it has wrought and been, for the sake of those who come after; and I daresay it would solace our own despatch into the unknown, if we could feel sure that we too are likely to be remembered by our successors, and that our name was not going to vanish altogether from the earth when the last breath has fled from our lips.

I have been strictly impartial in carrying out this policy, for I have been equally keen about preserving the relics of Hindu and Musulman, of Brahman and Buddhist, of Dravidian and Pathan. European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian are to me absolutely alike in the execution of this solemn duty. I draw no distinction between their claims. And therefore, I am doing no more here than I have done elsewhere, if I turn to the memories of my own countrymen, and if I set up in the capital of the Indian Empire this tardy tribute to their sacrifice and suffering.

How few of us ever pause to think about the past, and our duty to it, in the rush and scurry of our modern

lives. How few of us who tread the streets of Calcutta from day to day ever turn a thought to the Calcutta past. And yet Calcutta is one great graveyard of memories. Shades of departed Governors-General hover about the marble halls and corridors of Government House, where I do my daily work. Forgotten worthies in ancient costumes haunt the precincts of this historic square. Strange figures, in guise of peace or war, pass in and out of the vanished gateways of the vanished fort. If we think only of those whose bones are mingled with the soil underneath our feet, we have but to walk a couple of furlongs from this place to the churchyard[1] where lies the dust of Job Charnock, of Surgeon William Hamilton, and of Admiral Watson, the founder, the extender, and the saviour of the British dominion in Bengal. A short drive of two miles will take us to the most pathetic site in Calcutta, those dismal and decaying Park Street Cemeteries where generations of by-gone Englishmen and Englishwomen, who struggled and laboured on this stage of exile for a brief span, lie unnamed, unremembered, and unknown. But if among these forerunners of our own, if among these ancient and, unconscious builders of Empire, there are any who especially deserve commemoration, surely it is the martyr band whose fate I recall and whose names I resuscitate on this site; and if there be a spot that should be dear to the Englishman in India, it is that below our feet which was stained with the blood and which closed over the remains of the victims of that night of destiny, the 20th of June 1756. It is with these sentiments in my heart that I have erected this monument, and that I now hand it over to the citizens of Calcutta, to be kept by them in perpetual remembrance of the past.

[1] St. John's Church, formerly the Cathedral Church of Calcutta, built and opened in the time of Warren Hastings.

IRRIGATION

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1899

THE subject of Irrigation is one that appeals very closely to my concern. We are all familiar with the aphorism about the service of the statesman who can make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, and in India we do not need to be reminded of the direct and almost immediate benefit to the agrarian class that results from an increase in the area of cultivation. I shall not embark upon any discussion of the rival advantages of Irrigation and Railways, because such a discussion would not be germane to this debate, and is in reality futile. The Government of India has never been inclined to balance its duties in these respects one against the other, and would, I think, be unwise to do so. Nevertheless the annual allotment of 75 lakhs which has for some time been made to irrigation might, I think, with advantage be extended; and I have persuaded Sir J. Westland in his estimate for the forthcoming year to give me another 10 lakhs for that purpose.[1] I had asked for more, and he would have been willing to give me more. But a scheme of irrigation is not a project upon which you can start quite as expeditiously or as

[1] It is often ignorantly supposed that the annual grant made by the Government of India for irrigation represents the total Indian expenditure on that object. It is only the sum raised by loan in each year towards capital expenditure on larger works.

easily as you can upon a railroad. In the first place, the best areas for the purpose have already been utilised. Fresh schemes are likely to be less profitable, and therefore require more consideration, than their predecessors. In the next place, very careful surveys require to be made, levels have to be taken, a staff must be got together, an investigation of existing rights has in all probability to be undertaken. It is not the case, therefore, as is sometimes imagined, that as soon as the cheque is drawn, it can at once, so to speak, be cashed in terms of tanks and canals. For these reasons it has been found that we are not in a position in the forthcoming year to spend more than an additional 10 lakhs upon irrigation; although in succeeding years, if our finances continue to flourish, I hope that we may present to you a more extended programme.

ADDRESS FROM CHENAB COLONISTS

On April 3, 1899, Lord Curzon visited Lyallpur, the headquarters of the Chenab Irrigation District, already a flourishing town on a site which, till a few years before, had been a desert. In reply to an address from the colonists, he spoke as follows:—

A new Viceroy coming out to India learns many interesting lessons and sees many surprising things. Among the most novel and gratifying of these is the operation of that great system of Irrigation which in England we dimly know has filled up immense blanks upon the map of India, has made the wilderness to blossom like a rose, and has provided sustenance and livelihood to millions of human workers. What we do not and cannot know there is the sort of experience that I have been able to derive to-day from a visit to the actual scene of one of these beneficent reclamations, and from a study of the reports and information presented to me in connection therewith. The Punjab has been one of the main fields of this particular application of the

energies and resources of the Government of India; and it may interest any of my fellow-countrymen in England under whose eyes these words may subsequently fall to know that at the present time in the Punjab alone we have constructed 4500 miles of main and branch canals, not including 10,500 miles of smaller distributaries; that the total area irrigated by these means, which in 1868 amounted only to 1,000,000 acres, in 1878 to 1,300,000 acres, and in 1888 to 2,300,000 acres, has risen, owing to the startling progress of the last decade, to 5,200,000 acres in 1898; that the value of the crops which the irrigated area produces is estimated at ten millions sterling; that the total capital outlay on the irrigation works of the Punjab has been nearly six millions sterling; and that the net revenue was over 90 lakhs of rupees, or £600,000 in 1898, or a return upon the capital expenditure of 10½ per cent. Though statistics are commonly said to be prosaic and dull, I venture to think that in these figures, with their astonishing upward march, and with the evidences of sound finance with which they teem, there is an element of romance that almost surpasses in its dramatic surprise the more solid interest attaching to a far-sighted and successful effort of Imperial administration.

And now I turn to the particular project and locality which have tempted me here to-day, and which I have spent a pleasurable morning and afternoon in examining. When I am informed that four years ago the place in which I am now speaking, and which has the appearance of a flourishing township and mart of agricultural produce, was a barren and uninhabited jungle; and that there are now 1000 separate villages in a settlement that, eight years ago, existed only on paper, I confess that I doubt whether the records of the Far West, where towns are said to spring up like mushrooms almost in a night, can show any result more wonderful or more gratifying. Here was an area of 2½ million acres of what is known as waste land. The big dam across the Chenab was commenced in 1889. It was finished in 1892. At the

end of the year that has just closed 1,000,000 acres have already been brought under irrigation; there has been a capital outlay of 2½ crores, or 1½ million sterling; the net revenue in 1898 was 16 lakhs of rupees, or a return of nearly 7½ per cent. Now that the annually irrigated area has reached a million acres, it is estimated that the total value of the crops raised in a single year equals the capital cost of the entire works; and I have little doubt that the ultimate returns on the expenditure will nearly, if it does not quite, double the present amount. On the land thus reclaimed has been planted a large and prosperous peasant population with allotments of from 20 to 30 acres each, upon which they enjoy perpetual and heritable rights of occupancy. Other portions of the land have been bestowed as rewards upon pensioners of the Native Army, and upon yeoman grantees, or have been sold or leased to capitalists. There is believed to be a population of over 200,000 persons now, in a district which six years ago was almost without an inhabitant. Where at that time emigrants could with difficulty be found for what appeared to be a precarious venture, there is now almost a rush of would-be settlers; and great care is required in sifting the numerous applications for grants. I have only to look about me in order to note the air of contentment and affluence that everywhere prevails. If ever there was a case in which has been realised the ambition of statesmen as described by our English poet—

> To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
> And read their history in a nation's eyes,

it would seem to be in this favoured corner of the Province of the Punjab.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 28, 1900

A suggestion that is frequently made to me, I admit as a rule from the outside of India, where I am afraid that a good deal of ignorance of the actual position prevails, is that the obvious method to stop famines is to introduce Irrigation. Some of these writers seem to plume themselves upon the originality of the idea, and to be unaware that such a thing as irrigation has ever been heard of in India, or has been so much as attempted here. They do not seem to realise that irrigation has been going on in India for quite a considerable number of years, that about 19 millions of acres in India are already under irrigation, and that upon the works so undertaken has been spent a capital outlay of no less than 25½ millions sterling. Worthy people write me letters, based upon the hypothesis that any Indian river which ultimately discharges its waters into the sea is really so much agricultural wealth gone astray, which somehow or other the Government of India ought to have got hold of at an earlier stage, and turned into crops and gardens. Now I have had a very careful estimate made out for me of the extent of *fresh* ground in the whole of India which we are likely to be able to bring under cultivation, either by new irrigation projects, or by extensions of existing systems. Under the head of Productive works, *i.e.* works which may be expected to yield a net revenue that will more than cover the interest on the capital outlay, the estimated increment is about 3½ million acres, and the estimated outlay between 8 and 9 millions sterling. Under the head of Protective works, *i.e.* works which will not pay, and which, inasmuch as they constitute a permanent financial burden on the State, can only be undertaken in exceptional cases, and then as a rule do very little towards the prevention of famine, we contemplate spending about 10 lakhs a year, and shall probably in

this way about double the area of 300,000 acres which is covered by that character of work at the present time. It seems, therefore, that the total practicable increase to the irrigable area of India under both heads will not amount to much more than 4,000,000 acres. This increase will, of course, be of value in its addition to the total food-supply of the country, in the employment of labour thereby given, and in its effect upon prices in time of famine. But I am afraid that it cannot be expected to secure immunity from drought to districts now liable to famine, or to help directly their suffering inhabitants. Indeed, when a desert track is brought under cultivation, a stimulus is given to the growth of population, and more mouths have in time to be fed. The fact remains that the majority of the irrigation works that were most feasible, or most urgently required as protective measures against famine, have now been carried out, and that there is not in irrigation that prospect of quite indefinite expansion with which the popular idea sometimes credits it. At the same time, I am so much in agreement with the general proposition, which has received a good deal of support from many quarters in the course of the present debate, that irrigation should be encouraged, both because of the extension thereby given to the growth of food-supplies in this country, and because, in the case of what are known as productive works, of the extraordinarily remunerative character of the capital outlay, that I have inaugurated, since I came to India, a definite and, as I hope, a permanent extension (so long as we can find the works to undertake) of our Irrigation programme. In my predecessor's time, the annual Irrigation grant amounted to 75 lakhs. Last year I persuaded Sir James Westland to increase this; and in the financial year just expired we have spent 90 lakhs, some of it being directly applied to the provision of labour in famine districts; while, during the forthcoming year, in spite of the general curtailment of our programme owing to famine, I have prevailed upon Mr.

Dawkins to fix the Irrigation grant at 100 lakhs, or 1 crore of rupees. I am hopeful that generosity in this respect will not be a misplaced virtue, either in the direct returns that it will bring in, or in its general effect upon the prosperity of the country. For the reasons that I have named, I doubt whether irrigation can continue to do as much in the future as it has done in the past, owing to the gradual exhaustion of the majority of the big schemes. Still, even if our sphere of action is less grandiose and spacious than in by-gone days, I believe that, for a long time to come, and certainly during my day, we shall find more than enough to occupy our funds with smaller and less ambitious designs.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

I spoke last year of the limitations attending a too ambitious Irrigation programme, and of the fields of investigation and activity still open to us. During the last two years I have persuaded my financial colleague to raise the annual grant to one crore instead of the three-quarters of a crore to which it was confined when I came out to India. It is not always possible to spend this sum, for considerable time is required in the preparation of the various schemes; and last year, although we granted one crore, we only succeeded in expending 90 lakhs of rupees. In the present year we have gone much farther. I pledged myself in my famine speech at Simla in October to conduct an inquiry into the irrigation branch of the famine question. I want to be quite sure that no sources of water-supply or water-storage are neglected or ignored in this country. They may not always be great rivers flowing down unimpeded to the sea, though people at home seem to think that any river ought to be capable of being tapped in the Himalayas, and diffused either into the Central

Provinces, or Guzerat, or Berar. Neither do I postulate everywhere profitable or remunerative schemes. What I want to ensure is that in each province the sources of water-supply best suited to it, whether they be canals, or tanks, or wells, shall be scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may be presented with a continuous programme which we may pursue in ordinary years as an insurance against the bad years when these come. If only people would give one some credit for common sense in the matter instead of writing to me as they do every week from all parts of the world to acquaint me with the astonishing discovery that they have for the first time made, namely, that no more famines need ever take place in India if only I would cut canals to the Himalayas or build reservoirs on the top of rainless plateaux, I should be very grateful. It is no good flogging a willing horse. No Government of India has ever been more profoundly impressed with the importance of encouraging irrigation than this. As I have said, it is one of the twelve problems, and I should have thought that the Resolution recently issued with the orders that it contained, foreshadowing a sustained investigation of all irrigation projects in the possible areas of famine in the forthcoming autumn preparatory to a Commission in the ensuing winter, could have satisfied even the most exacting critic of the thoroughness and sincerity of our intentions. The Hon. Mr. Charlu has, nevertheless, complained that no such detailed or defined scheme is contained in the present Budget. I am afraid that he has never read the Resolution to which I refer. Anyhow I would beg him to give us a little time. It is not for the Finance Department to usurp the function of the Engineers. As soon as these have given us their reports, we are ready to set to work. The extra charge of the operations which we have ordered will be debited to the Famine Insurance Grant, and my hope is that its outcome may be a sustained policy of protective even if non-productive hydraulic works for a number of years to come.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 29, 1905

Next I turn to Irrigation. It is five years since I last alluded at any length to this subject in a Budget Debate. I then discussed the possibilities of irrigational expansion that seemed to lie before us in India, and speaking upon the authority of my expert advisers, I indicated the limits, physical rather than financial, that appeared to exist to such expansion, and answered the popular misapprehension that because India is a land of great rivers and heavy rains, it is therefore possible to capture all that surplus water, and to utilise it either for the extension of cultivation or for the prevention of famine. After that came the Famine of 1900; and as a sequel to the Famine it seemed to me that this matter, so vital to the future of India, should be re-examined by the very highest authorities whom we could find, visiting every part of the country, examining into local conditions, programmes, and needs, approaching the matter from the point of view of protection against famine rather than of remunerative investment of State funds, and presenting us with an authoritative pronouncement upon the capabilities for further irrigation of the whole of British India, and of the extent of the obligation both in State irrigation and in the encouragement of private enterprise which Government might legitimately assume. That was the genesis of the Commission presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff which was appointed in the autumn of 1901, and which, after an investigation that extended over two cold weathers, finally reported in April 1903.

I wonder how many of the hon. members whom I am now addressing, and still more how many of the outside public, have read their Report. To me the first part of it, which relates to general considerations, is infinitely more interesting than a novel, for it deals not with the hypothetical problems of human character, but with the posi-

tive agencies that affect the growth or decline of human life; and it bases conclusions, dramatic in their sweep, upon premises of scientific precision. By slow but sure degrees ever since, we have been assimilating and taking action upon that Report; and our final views and orders upon it will shortly see the light.

As this is the last occasion upon which I shall ever speak at any length upon this subject in India, let me summarise the situation as it now stands. There are two classes of Irrigation in this country, State Irrigation, *i.e.* works constructed or maintained by the State, and Private Irrigation, conducted by communities or individuals, largely by means of wells. I am here only concerned with the former. I need not before an Indian audience expatiate upon the distinction, so familiar in our Reports and Budget Statements, between Major and Minor works, Productive and Protective works. Major works are either Productive, in which case we find the money for them out of surplus revenue or from loans, or Protective, in which case we provide for them from the annual Famine Grant of 1½ crores; the distinction between Productive and Protective being that the former are expected to prove remunerative, though they have not always been so, while the latter are not expected to be remunerative at all. In other words, Productive works are, or may be, protective; but Protective works are not expected to be productive. Minor works are those which we undertake entirely out of the revenue of the year. Now let me say what our outlay upon all these works up till the present hour has been, and what the property thus created represents. The Government of India have spent in all 46½ crores or 31 millions sterling upon State Irrigation works in all the above classes. With it they have dug nearly 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries, they have irrigated an area of 21½ million acres, out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres, and they derive from it a net revenue of £2,700,000 per annum or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. If we capitalise the

net revenue at 25 years' purchase, we obtain a total of 67½ millions sterling or considerably more than double the capital outlay. These figures are an indication of what has already been done. Next, what are we going to do or what are we capable of doing? In my first year in India I went to see the Chenab Canal in the Punjab, which had been finished a few years earlier. At that time it irrigated 1,000,000 acres, it now irrigates 2,000,000; at that time it had cost 1½ millions sterling, there have now been spent upon it 2 millions; at that time it supported a population of 200,000 persons, the population is now over 1,000,000, and this huge aggregate is diffused over an expanse, now waving with corn and grain, that but a few years ago was a forsaken waste.[1] Since then we have completed the Jhelum Canal, which already irrigates 300,000 acres, and will irrigate ¾ million. Everywhere these lands, once waste and desolate, are being given out to colonisation; and the Punjab Province, if it lost the doubtful prestige of the Frontier with its disturbing problems and its warring tribes, has gained instead the solid asset of a contented and peaceful peasantry that will yearly swell its resources and enhance its importance. Then you have heard of the fresh obligations which we have since undertaken in the same quarter; 5¼ millions sterling have just been sanctioned for the group of canals known as the Upper Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Bari Doab. Before another decade has elapsed 2,000,000 more acres will have been added to the irrigated area, with a proportionate increase in the population, and with an estimated return of 10 per cent on the capital outlay. So much for the near future. Now let me look a little further ahead, and come to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission. They have advised an additional expenditure of 44 crores or nearly 30 millions sterling, spread out over twenty years, or an annual average expenditure of 1½ millions sterling. We accept that estimate; we regard it as reasonable; and we hope to

[1] Compare p. 177.

be able to provide the funds. This will increase the area under irrigation in British India by 6½ million acres as compared with the 4 millions which I mentioned five years ago, the difference being explained by the fact that as we draw towards the close of this gigantic programme we shall no longer be able to talk glibly of remunerative programmes or of lucrative interest on capital outlay, but shall find ourselves dealing with protective works, pure and simple, where no return or but little return is to be expected, and where we shall have to measure the financial burden imposed on the State against the degree of protection from scarcity and famine obtained for the people. I do not think that we need shrink from that more exacting test: for we shall have approached, if the metaphor may be permitted, the rocky passes in which our forces will then be engaged across smiling plains and verdant pastures, in which they will have derived strength and sustenance for the harder and less remunerative toil that will lie before them. I wish that we could proceed even faster. But that is out of the question. Canals are not like railways where companies are ready to find the money and to undertake the work, where an embankment can anywhere be thrown up by unskilled labour, and where the iron or steel plant that may be required can be ordered by telegram from Europe or the United States. In irrigation you have in the first place to find the funds from the borrowings of the State, which are not capable of unlimited expansion. You have to spend much time in preliminary investigations and surveys. You then have to obtain your labour for the particular work. It is estimated that to spend the amount which I have named a host of 280,000 workmen and coolies will be required for 250 days in each of the twenty years in addition to those required for the maintenance of the existing works and of the new ones as they come into operation. And finally you have to engage and train your skilled establishment, which is a matter of careful recruitment, spread over a series of years. These are the considerations that must always differentiate irriga-

tion work from railway work in India, and that militate against the same rate of speed in the former. And then, when we have done all this, where shall we stand? We shall have done much, we shall have done what no other nation or country has done before. But the surplus water from the snows of the Himalayas and from the opened doors of heaven will still spill its unused and unusable abundance into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The calculations show that of the total average rainfall of India, as much as 35 per cent, and a much larger proportion of the surface flow, amounting to 87 per cent, is carried away by rivers to the sea. The programme that I have sketched will at the most utilise only 2¼ per cent of this surface flow, and the remainder will still continue its aimless and unarrested descent to the ocean. Why is this? The answer is very simple, and to any one who has any knowledge of the meteorological or geographical features of this continent very clear. Rain does not always fall in India in the greatest volume where it is most needed. What Cherrapunji could easily spare Rajputana cannot for all the wealth of Crœsus obtain. Neither does rain fall all through the year in India. It descends in great abundance, within narrowly defined periods of time, and then it is often very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to store it. Providence does not tell us when a year of famine is impending, and we cannot go on holding up the water for a drought that may never come. It would be bad economy even if it were not a physical impossibility. Sometimes where water is most plentiful there is no use for it, because of the sterile or forbidding or unsuitable nature of the soil. Sometimes it flows down in blind superfluity through a country already intersected with canals. Sometimes it meanders in riotous plenty through alluvial plains where storage is impossible. Sometimes again the cost of storage is so tremendous as to be absolutely prohibitive. These are some, though by no means all, of the reasons which place an inexpugnable barrier to the realisation of academic dreams.

Facts of this sort we may deprecate, but cannot ignore; and the time will never come when we can harness all that wealth of misspent and futile power, and convert it to the use of man. What we can do, the Commission have told us; what we mean to do I have endeavoured imperfectly to sketch out in these remarks. Restricted as is the programme, when measured against the prodigious resources of nature, it is yet the maximum programme open to human agency and to finite powers, and it is one that may well appeal either to the enthusiasm of the individual, or to the organised ability of the State. We are about to embark upon it with the consciousness that we are not merely converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man, but that we are labouring to reduce human suffering and in times of calamity to rescue and sustain millions of human lives.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 28, 1900

I PASS to the question of Military Expenditure. The principal military incident of the past year has of course been the campaign in South Africa, to which we have lent a force of rather over 8000 British officers and men from India, as well as some 3000 natives for non-combatant services. Now, I myself should have been glad if the British Government had seen their way to employ some of our gallant native regiments, infantry, and perhaps still more cavalry, as well; and at an early stage in the war, I made the offer, on behalf of the Government of India, to send a large force. I should have been willing to send 10,000 men. I believe that, had the offer been accepted, it would have provoked an outburst of the heartiest satisfaction in this country, where the manifestations of loyalty have been so widespread, and, in my opinion, so conspicuously genuine. You must not imagine for a moment that the Home Government were indifferent to the offer, or were unconscious of the great display of patriotism in India that would have more than justified its acceptance. They were as well aware of these facts, and as grateful for the spirit displayed, as has been Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, who, throughout the war, has not ceased to press upon me her desire that I should lose no opportunity of testifying her admiration for the devoted

loyalty of the Indian Princes, the Indian army, and the Indian people. Nor did the refusal of the offer involve the slightest slur upon the Native army. It was refused for more reasons than one. It was thought undesirable to import any racial element into the contest. The British on one side were engaged in fighting the Boers on the other ; and, had other combatants been engaged, it might not have stopped at Indian forces. There was the further consideration that, had Great Britain transferred a portion of her Indian army to fight her battles in South Africa, an impression might have been produced that her own strength in white men was not sufficient for the strain of a second-class campaign ; an impression which might have had unfortunate consequences in its effect upon a local population perpetually hovering on the verge of revolt. For these reasons the offer was declined.

Now, it cannot be expected for one moment that a war so momentous—revolutionising all our ideas, and not ours alone, but those of the entire world, upon questions of armament, of tactics, and of the whole science and practice of warfare—should pass by without leaving a direct impress upon the military policy of India, as it will do upon that of every military power in the globe. A storm has taken place in the great ocean, the commotion caused by which will be felt thousands of miles away on every beach and shore. Here, as elsewhere, we shall require to set our own house in order, to overhaul our military machine, and to profit by the lessons learned. We have already set to work to do it. Do not imagine that this sort of reforms can anywhere be undertaken without an additional outlay. The first result of the Transvaal war will, I firmly believe, be an increase to the budget of every military nation in the world. If two small republics, however rich in money and in guns, could stand up for many months against the main strength of the British army, and could put the British nation to an expenditure which, before the entire bill is paid, may be nearer to

100 millions than 50, are we to stint the annual expenditure that may be required to protect the vast Empire of India, as large as the whole of Europe without Russia, against the infinitely more formidable dangers by which it may one day be threatened? I venture to say that no sterner critic, and no more uncompromising foe of extravagance, or of levity in military expenditure, has ever entered the offices of the Government of India than myself. But at the same time, as head of that Government, I know my responsibilities, and, if my colleagues and I are convinced that the military protection of India against the perils by which she may be menaced absolutely require that this or that expenditure should be incurred, we shall not flinch from undertaking it. My greatest ambition is to have a peaceful time in India, and to devote all my energies to the work of administrative and material development, in which there are so many reforms that cry aloud to be undertaken. I see no present reason why those aspirations should be interrupted or destroyed. But I do not wish or mean to place myself in a position in which later on, should the peril come, public opinion shall be able to turn round upon me and say, "We trusted you; we would have given you what you asked for the legitimate defence of India. But you neither foresaw the future, nor gauged the present; and yours is the responsibility of failure, if failure there be."

I say, then, that I see no chance of a reduction in the military estimates for some time to come. There are many respects in which we can save, or in which expenditure can be overhauled, scrutinised, and cut down. In the present and following year, we shall make a very considerable saving in consequence of the Frontier Policy which has been inaugurated during the past twelve months, and in the withdrawal of regular troops serving beyond our administrative frontier. There are many such fields of possible reduction. But the sum total of these economies is small in relation to the heavy items of expenditure that cannot possibly be escaped.

Take re-armament alone. Sir E. Collen[1] has told us in his Memorandum that the cost of re-arming the Native army and volunteers in India with a magazine rifle will amount to 1½ crores by itself, and yet who would urge for a moment that the expenditure should not be undertaken, or should be unduly delayed? If we are spending over 12 crores in two years, as I have remarked in an earlier part of my speech, in saving 50 millions of people from the peril of death by starvation, shall we grudge the crores that may be required to save 300 millions of people from the perils—almost worse than death—of disorder, and anarchy, and chaos, that might ensue were the British arms on or beyond the frontiers of India at any time to experience a serious disaster? Let not any one carry away the idea that because for a few months, or even for a year, we have been able to spare 8000 of our British troops for Africa, the British garrison in India can be permanently reduced by that amount. There can be no more complete or foolish illusion. Because a man lends for a night the watchdog that guards his house to a neighbour who is being attacked by robbers, does it, therefore, follow that his own house will be able to get on in future without protection? There is always some risk in denuding India of any considerable portion of her garrison. That risk is greater or less according to the conditions of the time, and the attitude of neighbouring powers. It was present upon the present occasion, and the late Commander-in-Chief and I, in deciding to lend to Her Majesty's Government a certain number of troops for South Africa—and here let me remark in passing that the papers have been wrong in speaking of the demands or orders of Her Majesty's Government, seeing that the latter have never done, and could not do, more than ask us to lend what we might be willing to spare—took upon ourselves to run that risk. But because we are likely to surmount it successfully on this occasion, would it be statesmanship to make the risk permanent?

[1] Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1896-1901.

I wonder if those persons who employ this curious argument would have said that, if we had been able to accept the offers of the various native Princes who so loyally proffered their personal services to the campaign, it was a proof that India could get on permanently without those Chiefs ; or, supposing we had sent 10,000 or 20,000 native troops to South Africa, that the native army ought, therefore, in future, to be reduced by that number. Let no one, therefore, be taken in by this sort of argument. These are not days when the military strength of any empire is likely to be reduced. They are not days when the military strength of the Indian Empire can with safety be reduced. If Lord Dufferin could hold fourteen years ago that the present armed strength of India, which was raised by him to its present total, was necessary for the preservation of order in this great country, for the fulfilment of our engagements, and for the protection of our boundaries, will any sensible man be found to tell me that anything has occurred since, whether it be in the experience of warfare in South Africa, or in the events that we hear of from day to day in Central Asia and on the borders of Afghanistan, to prove that we can now fulfil our obligations with less? No, there are two great duties of Imperial statesmanship in India. The first is to make all these millions of people, if possible, happier, more contented, more prosperous. The second is to keep them and their property safe. We are not going, for the sake of the one duty, to neglect the other. We would prefer to discharge our responsibility—and it is no light one—in respect of both.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

There is one heading of the estimates upon which I desire to say a word. I allude to the Military Estimates. They have been introduced in a statement and have

been explained to-day in a speech by the Hon. Military Member, enumerating the very considerable reforms and additions which we have already undertaken, or are about to undertake, and summarising in a concise manner the principal measures of improvement that have been carried out in the Indian Army during the sixteen years with which, in one or another capacity—culminating in the highest—Sir E. Collen has been connected with the military administration of the Government of India. He is now retiring from our service with a record of long and honourable work, such as few administrators can point to, and that has left an enduring mark upon the *personnel*, the organisation, and the equipment of the Army in India. May I be allowed to congratulate him upon the record which he has so modestly compiled, and also upon the very substantial addition that he has been able to make to it during the past two years? I am sure that he will be willing to make the reciprocal acknowledgment that, although his proposals have never been more searchingly investigated than during the many hours which the Members of the present Executive Council have spent at the Council table in discussing with him the problems of our Military administration during the past year and a half, and although there are many respects in which we have not been able to concede the full measure of his demands, he has not in his long experience been associated with colleagues who were more profoundly impressed with the gravity of their responsibility for the defence of the Indian Empire, both to the inhabitants of this country, and to the larger unit of which India forms a part. I need not repeat to-day what I said in the Budget Debate last year. I gave a clear warning on that occasion that there would be a rise in the military estimates, and that rise has come. I am not in the least disturbed by the argument that all this military expenditure is a waste, and that the money had much better be spent upon projects of economic development. I would gladly spend the whole of our revenues in the latter way, but I say

frankly that I dare not. The Army is required to make India safe; and it cannot be said that India is safe. In the event of an invasion or a campaign, those very theorists who are so fond of the phrase "bloated expenditure," and who denounce any attempt to make the Army more efficient that costs money, would be the first to run round and take shelter under the armaments whose expansion they had resisted. Exorbitant or ill-considered outlay, equally with them, I would decry; but my hon. colleague will bear me out that there is not an item in the new military expenditure of one million sterling in the forthcoming year which has not been exhaustively threshed out and sifted at the Council table, whether the outlay was half a lakh or twenty lakhs. He has given to Council in his Memorandum an indication of the objects to which this expenditure is to be devoted. They are not fanciful experiments, the emanation of the brain of the faddist or the doctrinaire. Still less do they spring from schemes of aggression or advance. There have never been two years in India less marked by a bellicose ambition. The purposes to which the money is to be devoted are such objects as re-armament of the entire Army with the latest weapon, the increase of our artillery and its supply with the most modern guns, a very substantial addition of officers, the creation of an organised transport corps instead of the fumbling units which have hitherto been a substitute for it, the proper armament of our coast defences, the building of light railways with which to strengthen our frontier posts, the establishment of factories with which to turn out our own military material. I am far from saying that the list of necessary improvements is exhausted. Year by year the discussion has to be resumed in the light of fresh experience and of demonstrated needs. But at least no one can say that, while the whole world has been busy with military reform, we in India have stood still. I remember last autumn reading in the leading organ of the English press an article about the Indian Army. It was one of those rather

sensational letters which, from the cover of anonymity, fling broadcast the accents of denunciation and doom. I never blame the writers of these productions; because their purpose is almost always honest, even where their knowledge is imperfect; and because their invective, though sometimes exaggerated, very often calls attention to positive blots. This particular writer declared that our armaments in India were hopelessly inadequate, our *personnel* insufficient, our equipment obsolete and absurd. How far these opinions are correct must be judged in the light of the information contained in the present Budget and in that of last year. But when the writer went on to say that nothing was being done, or, if being done, was being done so slowly and so incompletely as to be little better than absolute inaction, and that the Government of India was not in the least likely to take the necessary steps, he revealed an ignorance which was profound, and, if he possessed any opportunity of learning the facts, culpable.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 26, 1902

Sir E. Elles[1] in his Memorandum has given an account of the steady advance that is being made in the work of rendering our Indian Army, both European and Native, a more efficient machine. There are some who contend that its numbers are too small for the gigantic task with which they might one day be confronted. There are others who argue that they are more than sufficient for everyday needs. Both parties will admit the cardinal importance of making the existing army as fit for its task as the application of the latest results, whether of military invention or of experience in the

[1] Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1901-1905.

field, render possible; and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member have addressed themselves to this object with a business-like energy that finds its reflection in many notable reforms already achieved or in course of execution. The re-armament, both of infantry and cavalry, and of our batteries of artillery, which is being pursued with as much rapidity as the supply of weapons admits of, the reorganisation of the Madras Army by a bold infusion of the fighting blood of more northern races, the creation of a transport system with an existence other than on paper, the construction of light frontier railways, the endeavour to render India self-providing in respect of armaments and ammunition, large measures of administrative decentralisation, the reform of our horse-breeding establishments, the ventilation and lighting of our barracks by electricity, the settlement of the Cantonments difficulty by the legislation which has passed this Council; and, above all, the addition of a large number of officers to the Indian Staff Corps—for there can be no doubt that for a long time our regiments have been sadly under-officered, and that it has been found well-nigh impossible to reconcile the standards of regimental efficiency with the numerous calls that are made upon the officers for service on the frontier, for non-military service in fighting famine and plague, and for service in other parts of the Empire (where the authorities seem to fancy the Indian officer more than they do any one else)—all these plans and projects I say, which have taken, or are taking, shape, mark a policy of sustained and steadfast advance. That we have been assisted in carrying them out by the handsome savings that have accrued to us from the absence of our troops at the Imperial expense in South Africa and China is well known. But we have had our set-back in the extra charge that seems likely to be imposed upon us in connection with the proposals of His Majesty's Government to raise the scale of pay of the British soldier. We had not anticipated, and we can hardly be expected to welcome, this charge, and we

have placed our views upon it before His Majesty's Government.[1]

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

It seems a natural transition from the objects at which we aim in our Frontier and Foreign Policy to the means that we possess for securing them, and I pass therefore to the question of our Military Estimates. The military expenditure is going up. Year after year I have foretold it at this table. But it is not going up at so high a rate as in foreign countries: and it is not going up at a higher rate than our necessities demand. I am well aware of the cry that is always raised against military expenditure anywhere, and I yield to no man in my desire to secure to the peaceful millions their due share in the improving prosperity of the country. We are giving it to them in no small measure. But their tranquil enjoyment of what we give is in itself dependent upon the guarantees that we can provide for its uninterrupted continuance, and he would be a faithless guardian of the interests of the people who shut his eyes to what is passing without in the contented contemplation of what is going on within. The matter could not have been better put than it was in the terse and effective remarks of the Hon. Sir E. Elles. We are fortunate in possessing as Commander-in-Chief the first soldier in the British Army.[2] He comes to us here with his unrivalled experience and energy. He is addressing himself to the problem of providing India with the army

[1] The protest of the Government of India was ineffectual. The matter was referred to the arbitration of the Lord Chief Justice, who decided that the Government of India must accept the charge. They were thus subjected to an annual charge of £786,000 upon the Indian revenues, for an object not required in India itself, and certain to be followed, sooner or later, by a demand for an increase of pay in the Native Army.

[2] Lord Kitchener.

that she needs, and of equipping and distributing that army in the manner best adapted to secure the defence of the country. For this purpose the army must be efficient, not in units alone but as a whole, and not efficient alone, but as highly efficient as it is possible to make it: it must possess the latest armament: it must be adequately officered: its superior officers must be scientifically trained: it must be as far as possible self-supporting in its ammunition, its weapons, and its stores: its subordinate establishments must be not less effective than the fighting front: and the maximum available force must be capable of being directed to the vulnerable point at the moment of danger. All of these points are engaging the attention of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member, and I venture to say that their efforts, supplementing those of the two eminent commanders who have preceded them and who, alas, have both passed away,[1] are steadily placing the Indian army more and more in a position to play its part should the occasion arise. I saw the other day a criticism in a well-informed quarter which said, Why does not the Viceroy, instead of spending money upon internal reform, turn his attention to adding British officers to the sadly under-officered Indian Army? The critic was right in his ideas, but he was wrong in his facts. The Viceroy to whom he alluded had not forgotten this elementary need: and during his term of office he can point to the fact that no fewer than 484 British officers have been so added. This is only one of many conspicuous needs that we have filled. Were I to attempt to recapitulate either what has already been done, or what is in the mind of the present Commander-in-Chief, I might detain this Council long. To me it will always be a gratification to think that I have assisted in measures for providing India with the factories at Ishapore, Cossipore, Jubbulpore, and Wellington, that will practically render her independent of external supplies in guns, rifles, and gunpowder, for raising the reserves of our splendid

[1] Sir W. Lockhart and Sir P. Palmer.

Native Army by 100 per cent, for equipping the entire army with the latest weapon, and for providing out of our surplus resources for such cardinal needs as coast and other defences. We live in days when even the strong man cannot leave his castle undefended; and when our international rivals are closing in around us with intentions which he who runs may read. I am also glad to have been instrumental in relieving the hardships and reducing the risks of the British soldier's life in India by providing an electric-punkah installation in all our largest barracks, the cost of which will figure in our Budgets for some years to come.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 29, 1905

Before I conclude I may perhaps be expected to say a word about the Military Estimates of the year. We have had the familiar attacks upon them in this debate. One hon. member spoke of the expenditure as inordinate and alarming. It is inordinate in the sense that it is beyond the ordinary. For now that we have ample means, we are utilising some of them, which in ordinary years we might not have been able to do, not merely to relieve the burden of the people, but to secure them from the possible future horrors of war. There is nothing to alarm in the increase. The situation would be much more alarming, if, with a rival Power building railways towards the Afghan frontier, we were to sit still and do nothing. It was not by so regarding military expenditure and equipment that our allies in the Far East have won those great victories that have extorted the admiration of the world. They saw the danger impending, and they set themselves steadily to prepare for it—with what results we all know. The lesson of the Russo-Japanese

War is surely the most supreme vindication of preparation for war, as contrasted with unreflecting confidence, that modern times have ever seen. The Commander-in-Chief has presented us with a scheme, which is the ripe product not only of his own great experience, but of years of discussion and anticipation in India itself, and whose sole object is so to organise our forces in peace, as to place the largest possible body of men, with the least dislocation, in the field in time of war. Until universal peace reigns, which will not be in our day, the best custodian of his own house will still be the strong man armed; and the Government of India, assured that they have the means, and reposing confidence in the ability of their military advisers, have accepted the scheme submitted to them, not without careful scrutiny of its features and details, but in the conviction that the heavy charge entailed will be repaid in the increased security that will be enjoyed by the country.

As regards the view which has been expressed in this debate that the expenditure should be provided for by loan, I join my financial colleague in dissenting from that opinion. Reference has been made to English practice. No one would have denounced such a proposal, under existing conditions, more strongly than Mr. Gladstone. I do not say that a military loan is everywhere unjustifiable. Were we on the brink of war, or were it the case that large military expenditure could only be met by incurring a deficit, or by imposing additional taxation which it was considered essential to avoid, then there might be a good case for a military loan. But with a full exchequer, and with a simultaneous reduction of taxation, I feel sure that every financier of repute would pronounce such a proposal to be without excuse. Moreover, it should be remembered that in England the National Debt is being steadily diminished by processes which are not adopted here: and that a military loan is there obliged to run the gauntlet of Parliament. The Government of India is sometimes taunted with its irresponsibility. Might it not be a

serious thing if you encouraged that Government to shift on to future generations a burden which it was capable of bearing in its own time? Might you not aggravate the very irresponsibility which is sometimes deplored?

MOHAMMEDANS

ALIGARH COLLEGE

On April 23, 1901, the Viceroy visited the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and addressed a large gathering of the students as follows:—

Since I have been in India I have had a most earnest desire to visit this College, and to see with my own eyes the work—a work as I think of sovereign importance—that is being carried on within its walls. This desire was stimulated by the acquaintance that I was fortunate enough to make with your late and first Principal, Mr. Theodore Beck, during my first summer in Simla. Mr. Beck was a remarkable man. He gave up a life and career in England, and devoted himself to the service of the Mohammedans of India, and to the making of the fortunes of this place. There burned within that fragile body—for when I saw him the seeds of his early death had, I suspect, already been sown—the fire of an ardent enthusiasm, for which in his own student days in England he had been notorious among his friends. But experience had tempered it with a sobriety of judgment and a width of view which, coupled with his high moral character, must have supplied an inestimable example to his pupils in this College. As I followed his body to its grave among the Himalayan deodars, I felt that I was paying such small tribute of respect as lay in my power to one who had both been a faithful friend to the Mohammedans of India, and a benefactor of the common weal. I

afterwards had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of your present Principal, Mr. Morison, upon whom you have passed so high a eulogy, and who is so singularly qualified to carry on the work that Mr. Beck began, and I promised him that I would visit the College as soon as I could. I made the attempt last autumn upon my return northwards from a famine tour in Guzerat. But I was informed that the College was then in vacation, and inasmuch as to come to Aligarh while the teachers and the boys were away would be like going to see the play of Hamlet on the stage with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out, I decided to postpone my visit till the earliest favourable occasion. This has now come, and I shall regard the afternoon that I am fortunate enough to spend in your company as among the most valuable and interesting of my experiences in India.

In the address that has just been read you have supplied me with a succinct account of the objects and history of this College. I cannot say that they were new to me, for a little while ago I had placed in my hands a volume of the addresses and speeches that have been delivered on the various occasions when the Aligarh College has been visited by public men. It was a collection of uncommon interest, for, on the one hand, in the statements that were from time to time put forward in addresses of welcome by the Committee, or trustees, one could follow step by step the progress of the College, from its first inception as a small school twenty-six years ago, to the present day, and could learn in what manner the aspirations of its illustrious founder,[1] whose death you have justly deplored as an irreparable loss, had been realised. On the other hand, one could observe the impression which these events, and their narration, had made upon the minds of a number of eminent men. It is interesting to note in their speeches, delivered, I dare say, in this very hall, how a common train of reflection runs through the words of each. It has been a frequent observation that this College embodies the

[1] The late Sir Syed Ahmed.

principle of self-help; that it furnishes a moral and religious as well as a mental training, a point upon which I observe that you have laid much stress in your address this afternoon; that it has nevertheless no sectarian character; that it inculcates the importance of physical exercises; that it imbues its pupils with a sense of citizenship and of loyalty; and that it keeps aloof from political questions. It will be much better for you that you should read the ideas which have been common to the many speeches to which I have referred, in language that has frequently been a model of expression, than that I should dress them up again with an inferior sauce for your consumption this afternoon.

I should like, however, for a moment to contemplate the work that is being carried on here as a branch of the larger problems with which those who are responsible for the future of this great and bewildering country are faced. If the British dominion in India were exterminated to-morrow, and if all visible traces of it were to be wiped off the face of the earth, I think that its noblest monument and its proudest epitaph, would be the policy that it has adopted in respect of Education. When I speak of policy I am not using the phrase in its narrow or administrative application—a sphere in which we have made many mistakes—but in the broadest sense. We have truly endeavoured to fling wide open the gates of the temple of knowledge, and to draw the multitudes in. We have sought to make education, not the perquisite or prerogative of a few, but the cheap possession of the many. History does not, I think, record any similarly liberal policy on the part of a Government differing in origin, in language, and in thought from the governed. In my judgment it has not only been an enlightened policy, it has also been a wise one; and I do not believe that you will ever have a Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor who will desire to close by one inch the opened door, or to drive out a single human being who has entered in. If this be the character, and, as I also contend, the permanence of the great movement that I

am speaking of, how overwhelmingly important it is that no section of the community should fail to profit by the advantage which it offers. We have just crossed the threshold of the twentieth century. Whatever else it may bring forth, it is certain to be a century of great intellectual activity; of far-reaching scientific discovery; of probably unparalleled invention. To be without education in the twentieth century will be as though a knight in the feudal ages had been stripped of his helmet and spear and coat of mail. It will be a condition of serviceable existence, the sole means for the majority of holding their own in a world of intellectual upheaval and competition. That is why it must be so gratifying to any ruler of India to see the Mohammedans of this country, Sunnis and Shias alike, exerting themselves not to be left at the starting-post while all their many rivals are pressing forward in the race. They can run, too, if only they will learn how; they knew it once in the great days when Mohammedan rulers dispensed justice in their marble audience halls, and when Mohammedan philosophers, and jurists, and historians wrote learned works. But the old running is now out of date; a new and a swifter style has come in, and you must go to the seminaries, where are the professors of the modern art, to teach you the suppleness of limb and fleetness of foot that are required for the races of the future. I hold, therefore, that Sir Syed Ahmed, and those who worked with him to found this place, showed not only patriotism in the best sense of the term, but also a profound political insight; for they were seeking to provide their co-religionists in India with the conditions that will alone enable them to recover any portion of their lost ascendency; and if I were a Mohammedan prince or man of wealth in India to-day, I would not waste five minutes in thinking how best I could benefit my countrymen and fellow-followers of the Prophet in this country. I would concentrate my attention upon education and upon education alone. That these are your own conclusions is evident from the frank and manly admissions

of the address which has just been read. You say in it that only by the assimilation of Western thought and culture can the Mohammedans of India hope to recover any portion of their former sway. You are quite right. Adhere to your own religion, which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make it the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations. But, consistently with these principles, press forward till you pluck the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which once grew best in Eastern gardens, but has now shifted its habitat to the West.

I am aware that the friends of this College have formulated even higher ambitions than are embraced by your present character and scope. Mr. Beck spoke and wrote to me, with that enthusiasm of which I have already spoken, of his desire to expand this institution, which is already a residential College, into a residential University, with real professors, real lecturers, a living curriculum, and a definite aim. I may mention, too, that the project had reached the ears of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and that in one of the first letters that she wrote to me, after my arrival in India, she inquired most sympathetically about it. I believe that you have not yet, owing to financial and other impediments, been able to travel far upon this pathway, and, indeed, that there are some who doubt the policy of a sectarian institution at all. Upon this I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion. But one admission I do not shrink from making, namely, that you will never get from a University, consisting of little but an examining Board or Boards, that lofty ideal of education, that sustained purpose, or that spirit of personal devotion that are associated with the historic Universities of England, and that were, I believe, in some measure also produced by the ancient Universities of Islam.

And now, before I conclude, suffer me to say a few words to the younger members of my audience. I am

still sufficiently near to my own College days to feel an intense interest in those who are passing through the same experience. It is a period of high hopes and sunny aspirations. All the world is before us, and we are ready to confront it with a smile on our faces, and an unwrinkled brow, since we have not learnt of its disappointments and sorrows. Day after day, as our study extends, the horizon of knowledge expands before us, and we feel as those mariners of the old world must have done who sailed out into unknown seas, and before whose wondering eyes, as each day dawned, new islands or fresh promontories rose continually into view. But it is not learning only that we are acquiring. We taste the pleasure of personal friendship, we feel the spur of honourable emulation, and we kindle the local patriotism or *esprit de corps*, out of which, as we grow older, springs that wider conception of public duty which makes us proud to be citizens of our country, and anxious to play some part, whether great or small, on the public stage. All these are the delights and the novelties of our College days. Later on, perhaps, we learn that some of them are illusions, and very likely we fall short of our earlier ideals. That is the fate of humanity, or, perhaps I should say, it is the fault of ourselves. But, even if I knew that the hopes entertained by any young man of my acquaintance were destined to be disappointed later on, I would nevertheless not deprive him of the joy and zest of forming them. It is good for all of us to have had a time when the tide of hope ran high within us, and to have sailed our bark for a little while upon its shining waters. You will believe me, therefore, young men and students of this College, when I say that it is with peculiar sympathy that I have met you, and been allowed to address a few words to you, this afternoon. It is the sympathy of one who may, perhaps, still be entitled to call himself young, in the presence of those who are still younger. I wish you God-speed in your career, and I shall always rejoice to hear of the success in life of any of the pupils of Aligarh.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

February 15, 1902

THIS and the following speech were delivered by Lord Curzon in his capacity, not as head of the Government, but as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in which capacity he presided on seven occasions at the annual Convocation and addressed the students.

I see before me a number of young men who have just taken their degrees, and who are about to go out into the world, some to serve Government, some to practise the law, some to be teachers, some to be journalists, some to follow other professional pursuits, some perhaps —but I hope not many—to do nothing at all. Yearly from the different Indian Universities a similar stream of the youth of the country pours forth, and is absorbed in the great whirlpool of life. How will they fare there, what fortune awaits them, will they rise to the surface by their character or their abilities, or will they get sucked under and submerged? Are the chances in their favour, or are there dangerous eddies and currents which are liable to draw them down? If the latter be the case, can the Chancellor of an Indian University, who, to a certain extent, is in the position of the master-navigator, under an obligation to study the chart and to be familiar with the movement of the winds and tides—can he offer them any friendly warning or counsel which may assist them in the ordeal with which they are confronted? If

I assume this prerogative on the present occasion, pray believe that it is not from any confidence in my own power to act as a prophet or a guide, but rather from the intense interest that one who has just passed his second youth—for I think that youth may be said to consist of two parts of twenty years each—cannot fail to take in those who are just passing the first.

It is an Indian audience that I am addressing, and it is therefore of Indian character, surroundings, and temptations that I propose to speak. Just as there are different storm-charts for different seas, so are there features inherent in physical and climatic surroundings, and characteristics associated with nationality or temperament, that differentiate the population of one country from that of another, and that suggests varieties of precept or admonition. For the moment I am an Englishman addressing Indians. If I were an Indian addressing Englishmen I daresay I might have a number of remarks to make that would be equally pertinent, though they might not be identical. Nothing in either case is easier than for a speaker to flatter his audience. I think that I could without difficulty construct a catalogue of the Indian virtues, for I know them both by contact and by repute. You might applaud, but you would not go away any the wiser; while I should have gained nothing better than your ephemeral cheers. This is not what I want to do. I do not propose to-day to hold up a mirror to your merits. Let us accept them and put them in the background. I want rather to see the dangers to which in the several professions that I have named you are liable, and to put you on your guard against what seems to me to be the temptations and the weaknesses that lie athwart your future careers.

A good many of you, as I have said, will probably enter, and I daresay that still more aspire to enter, the service of Government. I do not say that this is not an honourable ambition. Indeed, if it is synonymous with a desire to serve your country, it is the most honourable of all; whereas, if it signifies no more than a desire to earn

a comfortable billet, and there contentedly to rust, it is the most despicable. I will assume, however—as I think that I reasonably may—that those of you who propose to adopt this career desire to do so with the fullest intention of justifying your selection and of rendering public service. What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think that they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and therefore he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself. This is a fault against which you ought to struggle unceasingly, for there is no malady that grows so quickly as dependence upon others. Accuracy and fidelity may constitute a good subordinate, but by themselves they will never make a good administrator, and they will never carry you out of the ranks that follow into the ranks that lead.

The second danger that I would ask you to shun is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough. You must do your work for the work's own sake, not for the grade, or the promotion, or the pension, or the pay. No man was ever a success in the world whose heart was not in his undertaking. Earnestness, sincerity, devotion to duty, carry a man quickly to the front, while his comrade of perhaps superior mental accomplishments, but with deficient character, is left stumbling behind. Do

not imagine for one moment that there is any desire on the part of the English governors of this country to keep native character and native ability in the background. I assert emphatically, after more than three years' experience of Indian administration, that wherever it is forthcoming it receives unhesitating encouragement and prompt reward. An Indian who not only possesses the requisite attainments, but who has energy, a strong sense of duty, and who runs straight, must come to the front. He is indispensable to us in our administration. For, in addition to the virtues of his character, he already possesses the inestimable advantages — in which no foreigner can really cope with him—of familiarity with the language, the people, and the clime. If you look round the world and inquire why it is that in so many foreign countries the Englishman, without any of these native advantages, has yet been invited to undertake, and has successfully undertaken, the task of regeneration or reform, you will find that it has been because of the universal belief in his integrity, his sincerity, and his purpose. People know that his heart is in his task, and that, when the pinch comes, he will stick to his post. Therefore I cannot give you, young Indians, better advice—and I give it, I can assure you, without a trace of national vanity—than to say, Go you and do likewise: avoid superficiality, put your soul into your work, be strenuous, and assuredly you will not fail of honour in your own time and country.

The same reflections apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to those among you who intend to embark upon a professional career, whether as engineers or doctors, or in whatever walk of life. The same shortcomings will keep you back. Similar standards are required to urge you on. The world is moving very fast, and the man who thinks he can stand still will presently tumble off into space. In the broad field of professional activity, I hardly know one pursuit in India in which there exists any racial bar. There is nothing in the world to prevent an Indian from rising to the topmost rung of the ladder

in the practical callings. Efficiency is the final test, and self-reliance is the golden rule.

Some of you whom I am addressing to-day will pass out of this Hall to the study or the practice of the law. You too have your advantages, for it cannot be doubted that the Indian intellect possesses unusual aptitudes for legal pursuits, and that the extent to which the principles as well as the practice of alien systems of law have been assimilated in this country is one of its most remarkable features. But here, too, there are certain pitfalls yawning in front of you which you must endeavour to escape. I do not say that they are not visible elsewhere, or that they are not to some extent common to every law-court and every bar. That may be a truism, but it is neither a palliation nor an excuse. The first temptation that you should avoid is that of letting words be your masters instead of being masters of your words. In a law-court the facts are the first thing; the law is the second; and the eloquence of the barrister or pleader upon the facts and the law is the third. Do not let your attention to the third subject obscure the importance of the first and second, and most of all the first. Words are required to express the facts, and to elucidate or to apply the law. But when they become the mere vehicle of prolix dissertation, they are both a weakness and a nuisance. The second danger of the law-courts is the familiar forensic foible of over-subtlety, or, as it is commonly called, hair-splitting. We know what people mean when they say, That is a lawyer's argument; and, although the taunt may often be undeserved, there must be something in it to explain its popular acceptance. Try, therefore, to avoid that refining, and refining, and refining, which concentrates its entire attention upon a point—often only a pin-point—and which forgets that what convinces a judge on the bench or a jury in the box is not the adroitness that juggles with minutiæ, but the broad handling of a case in its larger aspects.

I turn to those young men who are going to be teachers of others. I pray them to recognise the gravity

and the responsibility of their choice. Rightly viewed, theirs is the foremost of sciences, the noblest of professions, the most intellectual of arts. Some wise man said that he would sooner write the songs of a people than make its laws. He might have added that it is a prouder task to teach a people than to govern them. Moses is honoured by the world beyond David, Plato beyond Pericles, Aristotle beyond Alexander. Not that all teaching is great or all teachers famous. Far from it. Much teaching is drudgery, and many teachers are obscure. But in every case the work is important, and the workman should be serious. The first thing I would have you remember, therefore, is that you are not entering upon an easy or an idle profession. It is the most responsible of all.

When you have realised this guiding principle, the next thing to bear in mind is that the teacher should profit by his own previous experience as a student. He should not inflict upon his pupils the mistakes or the shortcomings by which his own education has suffered. For instance, if he has been artificially crammed himself, he should not proceed to revenge himself by artificially cramming others. Rather should he spare them a similar calamity. The great fault of education as pursued in this country is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the memory are mistaken for implements of the mind. This is all wrong. Books can no more be studied through keys than out-of-door games can be acquired through books. Knowledge is a very different thing from learning by rote, and in the same way education is a very different thing from instruction. Make your pupils, therefore, understand the meaning of books, instead of committing to memory the sentences and lines. Teach them what the Roman Empire did for the world, in preference to the names and dates of the Cæsars. Explain to them the meaning of government and administration and law, instead of making them repeat the names of battles or the populations of towns.

Educate them to reason and to understand reasoning, in preference to learning by heart the first three books of Euclid.

Remember, too, that knowledge is not a collection of neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass cases in a museum. The pupil whose mind you merely stock in this fashion will no more learn what knowledge is than a man can hope to speak a foreign language by poring over a dictionary. What you have to do is not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalisation drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge. If the object of all teaching is the application to life of sound principles of thought and conduct, it is better for the ordinary man to be able to make one such successful application, than to have the brilliancy of a Macaulay, or the memory of a Mezzofanti.

Next I turn to those among you who are going to enter the honourable profession of journalism. I know something of journalism, and I am acquainted both with its privileges and its snares. In India I have made the closest study of the Native press, since I have been in the country, partly because it tells me to some extent what the educated minority are thinking and saying, partly because I often learn from it things that I should otherwise never hear of at all. I am not, therefore, an ignorant or a prejudiced witness. On the contrary, I think that Native journalism in India is steadily advancing, and that it is gaining in sobriety and wisdom. But I am not here to-day to discuss merits. I have undertaken the more venturesome task of pointing out weaknesses and errors.

The first of these that I would ask you young men to avoid is the insidious tendency to exaggeration. If I were asked to sum up in a single word the most notable characteristic of the East—physical, intellectual, and moral—as compared with the West, the word "exaggeration," or "extravagance," is the one that I should employ.

It is particularly patent on the surface of the Native press. If it is desired to point out that a public man is a deserving person, it is a common form to say that he deserves a statue of gold. If he has done something that is objected to, he is depicted in almost Mephistophelian colours. This sort of exaggeration is not only foolish in itself, for it weakens the force of writing; but it is often unfair as an interpretation of public sentiment. There is nothing more damaging to national reputation than a marked discrepancy between words and acts. If, for instance, a great Indian dies and is extolled in glowing language by the Native press for his services and his virtues, and a subscription list is then opened to commemorate them—and if the response to this appeal turns out to be utterly inadequate—the reflection is suggested, either that the press has been extravagant in its laudations, or that the national character prefers words to deeds. In either case a bad impression is produced.

Then, again, do not impute the worst motives. Try to assume the best. If a thing has been done that you disapprove of, or that is not clear, do not jump to the conclusion that there is something sinister in the background. Assail the Government if you please—Governments, I suppose, are put into the world to be criticised—but do not credit them with a more than average share of human frailty; and above all, make some allowance for good intentions on their part. From the selfish point of view nothing can be worse in your own interests than to be always carping and railing. If you want to influence public opinion, you should aim at attracting every class of reader, and not merely pander to one. If the impression gets abroad that a newspaper always attacks an individual, or a class, or an institution, or a Government, as the case may be, then the friends of the other party will never open the newspaper at all, and all its invective will be thrown away.

I have a few other words of advice to give you, but they must be brief, as I have not the time to expand. Do not employ words or phrases that you do not under-

stand. Avoid ambitious metaphors. Do not attack in covert allegories, or calumniate in disguise. Remember, when you use the editorial "we," that "we" is, after all, only "I," and that the individual "I" is only one among three hundred millions. Recollect that your opponent or your victim very often cannot answer you; and that he is often just as good a man, perhaps even a better and wiser than yourself. Never descend to personalities; avoid that which is scurrilous and vulgar and low. There is always a stratum of society of depraved and prurient tastes. Do not write down to its level, but draw it up to your own. You, perhaps, have been told that the press ought to be no respecter of persons. Yes, but that is a very different thing from respecting nobody. First learn to respect others, and you will find before long that you have learnt to respect yourself. Do not sharpen your pen-point, and think that mere sharpness is wit. Remember the saying of Disraeli in the House of Commons, that petulance is not sarcasm, and insolence is not invective. Above all, never forget that the press has a mission; and that that mission is not to inflame the passions, or to cater to the lower instincts of your fellow-men, but to elevate the national character, to educate the national mind, and to purify the national taste.

And now to all of you together let me address these concluding words. The spirit of nationality is moving in the world, and it is an increasing force in the lives and ideals of men. Founded upon race, and often cemented by language and religion, it makes small nations great, and great nations greater. It teaches men how to live, and, in emergencies, it teaches them how to die. But, for its full realisation, a spirit of unity, and not of disintegration, is required. There must be a sacrifice of the smaller to the larger interest, and a subordination of the unit to the system. In India it should not be a question of India for the Hindus, or India for the Musulmans, or, descending to minor fractions, of Bengal for the Bengalis, or the Deccan for

the Mahratta Brahmans. That would be a retrograde and a dissolvent process. Neither can it be India for the Indians alone. The last two centuries during which the British have been in this country cannot be wiped out. They have profoundly affected the whole structure of national thought and existence. They have quickened the atrophied veins of the East with the life-blood of the West. They have modified old ideals and have created new ones.

> And not by eastern windows only,
>   When daylight comes, comes in the light;
> In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
>   But westward, look, the land is bright!

Out of this intermingling of the East and the West, a new patriotism, and a more refined and cosmopolitan sense of nationality are emerging. It is one in which the Englishman may share with the Indian, for he has helped to create it, and in which the Indian may share with the Englishman, since it is their common glory. When an Englishman says that he is proud of India, it is not of battlefields and sieges, nor of exploits in the Council Chamber or at the desk that he is principally thinking. He sees the rising standards of intelligence, of moral conduct, of comfort and prosperity, among the native peoples, and he rejoices in their advancement. Similarly, when an Indian says that he is proud of India, it would be absurd for him to banish from his mind all that has been, and is being, done for the resuscitation of his country by the alien race to whom have been committed its destinies. Both are tillers in the same field, and both are concerned in the harvest. From their joint labours it is that this new and composite patriotism is springing into life. It is Asian, for its roots are embedded in the traditions and the aspirations of an Eastern people; and it is European, because it is aglow with the illumination of the West. In it are summed up all the best hopes for the future of this country, both for your race and for mine. We are ordained to walk

here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

February 11, 1905

I do not propose to address you to-day upon purely educational topics. I have often inflicted them upon previous Convocations. I would like to turn aside for half an hour from those dusty fields, and to talk to you about something which is even more personal to the undergraduate body, namely, yourselves and the work that lies before you. The majority of you are about to do what I remember so well doing myself, though it is now rather a long time ago, namely, to gather up the advantages of such education as you have received, and with this bundle on your back to start forth on the big road which we call life. What will it mean to you, and what are its lessons?

I do not pretend to know what lies in the mind of young India, or even of that small section of it which I am now addressing. Difference of race carries with it difference of ideas. The currents of the East and West may flow between the same banks, as I believe it is their destiny to do for long generations to come. But they never absolutely commingle; and I daresay when I try to put myself in your place and to see what is in your minds I altogether fail to succeed. I am confident sometimes that it is so when I have observed the obscure meanings attached by Indian commentators to what has seemed to me to be simple and true. Conversely, I am quite sure that the Englishman often fails

to understand what the Asiatic mind has been pondering over, and is led perhaps by exaggeration of language into thinking that there was corresponding extravagance of thought, whereas there may have been none at all. These are the dangers common to all of us who walk to and fro on the misty arch that spans the gulf between East and West. But there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity irrespective of country or race. These are of universal application, and among this class there are some that are peculiarly applicable to the Indian situation and the Indian character. In the contemplation of these we are on common ground, and it is to them that I wish to call your attention this afternoon.

I place in the front rank of these principles truthfulness. The truth is not merely the opposite of a lie. A dumb man would find it difficult to tell a lie, but he might be guilty of untruth every day of his life. There are scores of people who pride themselves on never telling a falsehood, but who are yet habitually false—false to others, and, what is worse, false to themselves. Untruthfulness consists in saying or doing anything that gives an erroneous impression either of one's own character, or of other people's conduct, or of the facts and incidents of life. We all succumb to this. It is the most subtle of temptations. Men who make speeches, men who plead cases, men who write articles in the newspapers, men who are engaged in business, even the ordinary talker at a dinner-table, each of us for the sake of some petty advantage or momentary triumph is tempted to transgress. The degree of non-truth is so slight that it does not seem to amount to untruth. We salve our conscience by thinking that it was a pardonable exaggeration. But the habit grows. Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood; and the man who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar. But an even commoner form of untruth is the unspoken untruth—the doing

something which conscience condemns as not quite straight, but for which the reason is always finding something as an excuse. Those who encourage this tendency end by becoming two human beings in the same form, like the Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of Stevenson's story. Perhaps the guilty man prides himself on being complex. He is really corrupt; and one day he wakes up to find that he can no longer resume the good habit, but must remain the base or distorted deformity for ever.

I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "Oriental diplomacy," by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification, and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aim.[1] I remember reading in an Indian newspaper[2] the following paragraph:—"There is not a question but that lying is looked upon with much more disfavour by European than by Native society. The English opinions on this

[1] The allusion was to many well-known passages in the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and other works. In one place the *Mahabharata* says: "There is nothing higher than to speak the truth. Yet it is better to speak what is beneficial than to speak the truth." In another place the permissible kinds of falsehood are stated to be five in number—"on an occasion of marriage, or of love, or when life is in danger, or when one's entire property is about to be taken away, or for the sake of a Brahman."

[2] The *Indian Mirror*, a Bengali daily, published in Calcutta.

subject are strong, distinct, and uncompromising in the abstract. Hindu and Mohammedan opinions are fluctuating, vague, and to a great extent dependent upon times, places, and persons."

Now the commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this country seem to me to be the following:— The first is exaggeration, particularly in language, the tendency to speak or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe, or which are more that he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree. There is a thing which we call in English a "mare's-nest," by which we mean a pure figment of the imagination, something so preposterous as to be unthinkable. Yet I know no country where mare's-nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes. Political opponents are branded as malefactors. Immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance. The writer no doubt did not mean to lie. But the habit of exaggeration has laid such firm hold of him that he is like a man who has taken too much drink, and who sees two things where there is only one, or something where there is nothing. As he writes in hyperbole, so he tends to think in hyperbole, and he ends by becoming blind to the truth.

There are two particularly insidious manifestations of this tendency against which you ought to be on your guard. The first is flattery, and the second is vituperation. Flattery is much more than compliment in an extravagant form. It is often a deliberate attempt to deceive, to get something out of some one else by playing upon the commonest foible of human nature. We all like to be praised, and the majority like to be flattered.

A common-place man enjoys being told that he is a great man, a fluent speaker that he is an orator, a petty agitator that he is a leader of men. The vice is actually encouraged by that which is one of the most attractive traits of Indian character, namely, its warmth of heart. A man has a natural inclination to please, so he glides into flattery; and flattery is only a few steps removed from sycophancy, which is a dangerous form of untruth. Flattery may be either honest or dishonest. Whichever it be, you should avoid it. If it is the former, it is nevertheless false; if it is the latter, it is vile.

But I think that in India the danger of the opposite extreme is greater still. I speak of slander and vilification of those with whom you do not happen to agree. I do not wish to be tempted this afternoon into anything that might be thought to have a political bearing; for it would not be proper to this Convocation. I will only say, therefore, that to many true friends of India, among whom I count myself, the most distressing symptom of the day is the degree to which abuse is entering into public controversy in this country. It is a bad thing for any State if difference of opinion cannot exist without innuendo and persecution, and if the vocabulary of the nation is trained to invective. Authority will never be won by those who daily preach that authority exists only to be reviled. National happiness cannot spring from a root of bitterness, and national existence cannot grow in an atmosphere of strife. I would like to urge all you young men, when you go forth into the world, to avoid this most dangerous of all temptations. Respect your opponents and do not calumniate them. Believe in the good intentions of others rather than the bad, and remember that self-government, to which you aspire, means not only the privilege of assisting to govern the community to which you belong, but the preliminary capacity of governing yourselves.

Therefore I come back to my original point. Do not exaggerate; do not flatter; do not slander; do not

impute; but turn naturally to truth as the magnet flies to the pole. It is better to be believed by one human being for respect of the truth than to be applauded for successful falsehood by a thousand. By truth you will mount upwards as individuals and as a nation. In proportion as you depart from it you will stagnate or recede.

Then my second word of advice is this. Try to form an independent judgment. The curse of our day is the dependence on others for thought and decision of every description, and the multiplication of machines for relieving a man of the necessity of independent opinion. The lowest and commonest of these machines is what schoolboys call a key, that is, a book in which they are saved the trouble of thinking for themselves by finding the work done for them by somebody else. The highest form is the article in the daily newspaper or the magazine which relieves you from thinking about the politics or events of the day by supplying you with the thoughts of another.

Advance in civilisation multiples these instruments of selfish convenience. For an anna or less a man can purchase his opinions just as he purchases his food or his clothing. Of course books and the press do much more. They spread knowledge and stimulate intelligence, and without them we should sink back into brute beasts. I am only speaking of their questionable side. For the paradox is also a truth, that while they encourage intellectual activity they are also sometimes an indirect incentive to intellectual torpor. Of course this is truer of newspapers, which represent an ephemeral form of literature, than it is of books, which are often immortal. We all of us get into the habit of reading our favourite journal, and cherish the belief that we are thinking while we are really only browsing on the thoughts of others. Sometimes our anonymous mentor is a very wise man, and we do not go far astray; sometimes he is the reverse, and we err in his company.

But the great danger of second-hand thought is not merely that it is not original, but that its tendency is to

be one-sided, and therefore unfair. The common instinct of mankind is to take a side. It is the survival of the old era of combat, when each man had to fight for himself and his family or clan. From youth upwards we find ourselves taking a side in the rivalries of school and college life, and in many ways these rivalries develop the keener instincts and the finer side of human nature. But the mind ought only to take a side as the result of a mental process. If we have examined the two sides of a case, and are convinced that the one is right and the other wrong, or that one is more right than the other, by all means adopt and adhere to it; but to make your decision and to shape your conduct simply because a writer in a book or a newspaper has said it, whether it be right or wrong, is not thought, but very often an abnegation of thought. It is putting the authority of the mind in commission and setting up some other authority, of which you perhaps know nothing, in the judgment-seat. So I say to you young men that the first duty of a student, that is a man who has studied, is mental independence. Strike out a line of thought for yourselves. Form your own judgment. Do not merely listen to the tinkling of the old bell-wether who leads the flock, but stand on your own feet, walk on your own legs, look with your own eyes.

This does not mean, of course, that you can afford to be self-opinionated, or conceited, or obstinate. Nothing is more offensive than arrogance or license in youth. You remember the famous sarcasm of the Cambridge tutor at the expense of a youthful colleague: "We are none of us infallible, not even the youngest." But the excess of a virtue merges easily into a vice, and nowhere more easily than in the case of freedom. Freedom involves not the absence of all restraint, but liberty within the limits of a reasonable self-restraint. Otherwise, as history teaches us, freedom usually degenerates into license, license into disorder, and disorder into chaos. Goethe, the German poet-philosopher, used to say that only in law can the spirit of man be free.

So it is; and just as law is the condition of independence of spirit, so are moderation and respect for others the condition of independence of judgment. This combination of qualities should come naturally to the philosophic Hindu. He should cultivate independence of mind, and thought, and action. But his great introspective power should save him from degenerating into intellectual self-sufficiency or insolence.

There is another tyranny which I think that you ought to avoid, and that is the absurd and puerile tyranny of words. It is not the most fluent nations in the world who have done the most in history. Every nation and every time have their orators and they are the secular teachers and apostles of their day. But when everybody talks, then as a rule few act, and when the talkers talk too much and too often, then finally nobody pays any heed, and the impression gets abroad that they are incapable of action. When I read the proceedings of the conferences and meetings that are always going on in all parts of India, I am far from deprecating the intellectual ferment to which this bears witness, and I am not sure that it is not a direct imitation of English practice. But I sometimes think that if fewer resolutions were passed and a little more resolution was shown—resolution to grapple with the facts of life, to toil and labour for your country instead of merely shouting for it—the progress of India would be more rapid. Eloquence on the platform is very like soda-water in a bottle. After the cork has been removed for a little time all the sparkle has gone. Moreover, eloquence no more regenerates nations than soda-water gives fibre and strength to the constitution.

Now in India there are two sets of people, the reticent and the eloquent. I daresay you know to which class the people in this part of the country belong. I am sometimes lost in admiration at the facility with which they speak in a foreign language, and I envy the accomplishment. All I say to you is, do not presume upon this talent. Do not believe that the man who can

make a speech is necessarily a statesman; do not let your fluency run away with your powers of thought. Above all, do not think that speech is ever a substitute for action. The man who in his village or his town devotes himself to the interests of his fellow-countrymen, and by example and by effort improves their lot, is a greater benefactor than the hero of a hundred platforms.

There is a further piece of advice that I should like to give you. Strive to the best of your ability to create a healthy public opinion in your surroundings. Public opinion in India cannot for a long time be the opinion of the public, that is of the masses, because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all. In these circumstances public opinion tends to be the opinion of the educated minority. But if it is to have weight it must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community, who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. Nothing can be more unfortunate than a divorce or gulf between the two. If what is called public opinion is merely the opinion of a class, however genuine, it can never have the weight of the opinion of the masses, because, like all class feelings, it is necessarily interested. Of course in India it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is really representative, because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide; for instance, the English and the Indians, the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the officials and the non-officials, the agriculturalists and the industrialists. But I think that the great work that lies before educated India in the near future is the creation of a public opinion that shall be as far as possible representative of all the interests that lie outside of Government. If we take the Native element alone, it would be an immense advantage to Government to have a public opinion that was representative of Native sentiment generally, not of one section or fraction of it. For public opinion is both a stimulus to Government and a check. It encourages energy and it prevents mistakes.

But if it is to have this vivifying and steadying influence, then it must be public and not sectional, temperate and not violent, suggestive and not merely hostile. Surely this must be patent to all. We have all of us frequently seen a manufactured public opinion in India, which was barren and ineffective because it merely represented the partisan views of a clique, and was little more than noise and foam. In my view, the real work that lies before Indian patriots is the suppression of the sectional and the elevation of the national in the life of the people. And I think that any educated young man can contribute to that end by the exercise of personal influence and balance of judgment. It is always a bad symptom when there is one public opinion that is vocal and noisy, and another that is subdued and silent. For the former assumes a prerogative that it does not deserve, while the latter does not exert the influence to which it is entitled. The true criteria of a public opinion that is to have weight are that it should be representative of many interests, that it should see two or more sides instead of only one, and that it should treat Government as a power to be influenced, not as an enemy to be abused. Some day I hope that this will come; and there is not one amongst you who cannot contribute to that consummation.

The last question that I put to myself and to you is this—What scope is there for you in the life of your country? In my opinion there is much. When I hear it said that India is a conquered nation and that Indians are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, I smile at the extravagance, but I am also pained at the imputation. When I see High Court Judges—some of them in this hall—Ministers of Native States wielding immense powers, high executive and judicial officers in our own service, leaders of thought and ornaments of the Bar, professors and men of science, poets and novelists, the nobility of birth and the nobility of learning, I do not say that every Indian corporal carries a Field Marshal's *baton* in his knapsack, for the

prizes come to few, but I say that none need complain that the doors are shut. To all of you who have the ambition to rise I would say—Use your student days to study the history and circumstances of your race. Study its literature and the literature of Europe, and particularly of the country whose fate is bound up with your own. Compare the two; see what are their lessons or their warnings. Then equip yourselves with a genuine and manly love for your own people. I do not mean the perfervid nationalism of the platform, but the self-sacrificing ardour of the true patriot. Make a careful diagnosis, not only of how you can get on yourselves, but how you can help your countrymen to prosper. Avoid the tyranny of faction and the poison of racial bitterness. Do not arm yourselves against phantasms, but fight against the real enemies to the welfare of your people, which are backwardness, and ignorance, and antiquated social prescriptions. Look for your ideals not in the air of heaven but in the lives and duties of men. Learn that the true salvation of India will not come from without, but must be created within. It will not be given you by enactments of the British Parliament or of any Parliament at all. It will not be won by political controversy, and most certainly it will not be won by rhetoric. It will be achieved by the increase of the moral and social advance of your people themselves, deserving that which they claim, and by their deserts making stronger the case for more. To you all therefore I say, Look up, not down. Look forward, not backward. Look to your own country first and foremost, and do not waste time in whistling for the moon. Be true Indians—that is the prompting of nationality. But while doing so strive also to be true citizens of the Empire; for circumstances have thrown you into a larger mould than that of race, and have swept you into the tides that direct the world. As nationality is larger than race, so is Empire larger than nationality. Race weakens and gets overlaid in the passage of time and gives place to broader conceptions. For instance, in

India I see the claim constantly made that a man is not merely a Bengali, or an Uriya, or a Mahratta, or a Sikh, but a member of the Indian nation. I do not think it can yet be said that there is any Indian nation, though in the distant future some approach to it may be evolved. However that may be, the Indian is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire. To that larger unit he already belongs. How to adjust race to nationality, and how to reconcile nationality with Empire,—that is the work which will occupy the British rulers of this country for many a long year to come. I am one of those who believe that it can be accomplished without detriment to race or nationality, and with safety to the Empire. I want the Indian people to play their part in this great achievement and to share the results.

PERSIAN GULF

DURBAR AT SHARGAH

In November 1903 Lord Curzon paid an official visit to the Persian Gulf, escorted by the vessels of the East India Squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral G. Atkinson-Willes. It was the first occasion on which any Viceroy of India, during his term of office, had visited these outlying scenes of British influence and trade. After halting for a day at Muscat, the Gulf was entered, and on November 21 a Durbar was held on the *Argonaut* at Shargah, for the Chiefs of the Arab Coast who are in Treaty relations with the British Government. The Chiefs having been formally presented, the Viceroy addressed them as follows:—

I have come here as the representative in the great Empire of India of the British authority which you and your fathers and forefathers have known and dealt with for more than a hundred years; and my object is to show you, that though you live at some distance from the shores of India, you are not forgotten by the Government, but that they adhere to the policy of guardianship and protection which has given you peace and guaranteed your rights for the best part of a century; and that the first Viceroy of India who has ever visited these waters does not quit them without seeking the opportunity of meeting you in person, and of renewing the assurances and engagements by which we have been so long united.

Chiefs, your fathers and grandfathers before you have

doubtless told you of the history of the past.[1] You know that a hundred years ago there were constant trouble and fighting in the Gulf; almost every man was a marauder or a pirate; kidnapping and slave-trading flourished; fighting and bloodshed went on without stint or respite; no ship could put out to sea without fear of attack; the pearl fishery was a scene of annual conflict; and security of trade or peace there was none. Then it was that the British Government intervened and said that, in the interests of its own subjects and traders, and of its legitimate influence in the seas that wash the Indian coasts, this state of affairs must not continue. British flotillas appeared in these waters. British forces occupied the forts and towns on the coast that we see from this deck. The struggle was severe while it lasted, but it was not long sustained. In 1820 the first general Treaty was signed between the British Government and the Chiefs; and of these or similar agreements there have been in all no fewer than eight. In 1839 the Maritime Truce was concluded, and was renewed from time to time until the year 1853, when it was succeeded by the Treaty of Perpetual Peace that has lasted ever since. Under that Treaty it was provided that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities at sea between the subjects of the signatory Chiefs, and a "perfect maritime truce"—to use the words that were employed—"for evermore"; that in the event of aggressions on any one by sea, the injured parties should not retaliate, but should refer the matter to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf; and that the British Government should watch over the peace of the Gulf and ensure at all times the observance of the Treaty. Chiefs, that Treaty has not, of course, prevented occasional trouble and conflict; it has sometimes been neglected or infringed; but on the whole it has well deserved its name; and under it has grown up a condition of affairs so peaceful and secure that the oldest

[1] For a detailed account of this history, as also for Muscat, reference may be made to the chapter on the Persian Gulf, in vol. ii. of Lord Curzon's *Persia*, published in 1892.

among you can only remember as a dim story the events of the past, while the younger have never seen warfare or bloodshed on the seas. It is now eleven years since the last disturbance of the peace occurred.

Chiefs, out of the relations that were thus created, and which by your own consent constituted the British Government the guardian of inter-tribal peace, there grew up political ties between the Government of India and yourselves, whereby the British Government became your overlords and protectors, and you have relations with no other Power. Every one of the States known as the Trucial States has bound itself, as you know, not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any other Power, not to admit the agent of any other Government, and not to part with any portion of its territories. These engagements are binding on every one of you, and you have faithfully adhered to them. They are also binding in their reciprocal effect upon the British Government, and as long as they are faithfully observed by the Chiefs there is no fear that any one else will be allowed to tamper with your rights or liberties.[1]

Sometimes I think that the record of the past is in danger of being forgotten, and there are persons who ask—Why should Great Britain continue to exercise these powers? The history of your States and of your families, and the present condition of the Gulf, are the answer. We were here before any other Power, in modern times, had shown its face in these waters. We found strife and we have created order. It was our commerce as well as your security that was threatened and called for protection. At every port along these coasts the subjects of the King of England still reside and trade. The great Empire of India, which it is our duty to defend, lies almost at your gates. We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbours. We opened these seas to the ships of all nations, and enabled their flags to fly in peace. We have not seized or held your territory.

[1] The Treaties and Agreements are printed in Aitchison's and Hertslet's Collections of Treaties.

We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it. We are not now going to throw away this century of costly and triumphant enterprise; we shall not wipe out the most unselfish page in history. The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme.

There is one respect in which the Chiefs themselves can avert any renewal of trouble in the future. The British Government have no desire to interfere, and have never interfered, in your internal affairs, provided that the Chiefs govern their territories with justice, and respect the rights of the foreign traders residing therein. If any internal disputes occur, you will always find a friend in the British Resident, who will use his influence, as he has frequently done in the past, to prevent these dissensions from coming to a head, and to maintain the *status quo*; for we could not approve of one independent Chief attacking another Chief by land, simply because he was not permitted to do it by sea, and thus evading the spirit of his Treaty obligations. I will mention a case that seems to lend itself to friendly settlement of the character that I have described. You are all of you aware that the strip of coast known as the Batineh Coast, on the opposite side of the Oman peninsula, is under the authority of the Chief of the Jowasmis. Nevertheless his authority is contested in some quarters. It is desirable that these disputes should cease, and that the peace should remain undisturbed.

Chiefs, these are the relations that subsist between the British Government and yourselves. The Sovereign of the British Empire lives so far away that none of you has ever seen or will ever see his face; but his orders are carried out everywhere throughout his vast dominions by the officers of his Government, and it is as his representative in India, who is responsible to him for your welfare, that I am here to-day to exchange greetings with you, to renew old assurances, and to wish you prosperity in the future.

ADDRESS FROM BRITISH RESIDENTS AT BUSHIRE

On December 2, the Squadron, after visiting Bunder Abbas, Lingah, Bahrein, and Koweit, arrived at Bushire. An unfortunate hitch in the arrangements made by the Persian Government prevented the Viceroy from landing, but he received a large deputation from the British residents on board the *Hardinge*, and in reply to an Address of welcome from them spoke as follows:—

I am very glad to see you here, and to receive your friendly Address. I am sorry to have been prevented from receiving you on shore, when I might have been introduced to an even larger number of British residents and merchants at this important place.

A Viceroy of India coming to Bushire in the year 1903, though he be the first occupant of that position to visit these waters during his term of Office, is irresistibly reminded of his precursors a century gone by. He is, indeed, the logical as well as the historical successor of Sir John Malcolm, who came here more than once just a hundred years ago; and he is the latest link in an unbroken sequence of political officers who have been deputed from India to represent British and Indian political interests, and to protect their corresponding commercial interests, in this neighbourhood since the appointment of the first political agent as far back as 1812. Even then British interests had been represented here for as much as half a century; since it was in 1763 that the East India Company first opened a factory at Bushire. At that time one vessel a year from India was sufficient to accommodate the whole of British trade. In 1902, 136 steamers entered this port, and of these 133 were British. In the last twenty years the imports have increased from 135 lakhs, of which 117½ were from Great Britain and India, to 201¾ lakhs in 1901, of which 152½ lakhs were British and Indian. In

the same period the imports of tea from India have risen from a value of Rs. 65,000 to a value of close upon 10 lakhs. These figures do not leave much doubt as to where the preponderance of trade lies.

This history of 140 years is without a parallel in the connection of any other foreign nation with these coasts; under it have grown up connections with the local Governments and peoples of close friendships and confidence; it is a chapter of history upon which we have every right to look back with pride; and it imposes upon us obligations which it is impossible that we should overlook, and which no Government, either of Great Britain or India, is likely to ignore.

Bushire is the headquarters of this long-standing connection. From here the British Resident exerts that mild control over the waters of the Gulf, and over the tribes upon its opposite shore, the results of which I have enjoyed so many opportunities of observing during my present cruise. From this place the principal caravan route strikes into the interior of Persia, tapping its chief cities in succession, and ultimately reaching the capital; here the wires of the Indo-European telegraph, which in their earlier stages have brought Persia into connection with Europe, which have done so much to strengthen the authority of the Shah in his own dominions, and which carry the vast majority of the messages from India to England, dip into the sea; here is the residence of the Persian official who is charged with the Governorship of the Persian Gulf ports by his Government, and with whom our relations are invariably those of the friendliest nature; and under these combined auspices—the British bringing the bulk of the trade and policing the maritime highway, and the Persians gradually consolidating an authority which, though once precarious, is now assured—this place has grown from a small fishing village into a flourishing town of 20,000 inhabitants; it has become the residence of foreign Consuls and Consular officers; the leading mercantile communities who trade in Southern Persia

and Turkey have their offices and representatives here; there is seldom a day in which steamers are not lying off the port; and Bushire has acquired a name which it is safe to say is known in every part of the world.

This development is the more remarkable because, as you have pointed out, no one could contend that trade is conducted here under favourable conditions; on the contrary there are few, if any, of the conditions that naturally mark out a place as an emporium or channel of commerce. Bushire can hardly be said, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, to possess a harbour. Landing is difficult and often impracticable. The trade-route that penetrates into the interior is one of the most difficult in Asia; and inland you do not find a people enjoying great wealth or a high standard of comfort or civilisation, but instead you encounter tribes leading a nomadic form of existence; and even when you come to the settled parts of the country and the larger cities, the purchasing power of the people does not appear to be great. The fact that a large and flourishing trade has grown up in spite of these drawbacks is an irrefutable proof of the dependence of Persia upon outside supply for many of the necessities and most of the luxuries of life. Since I first visited Bushire fourteen years ago[1] I have always indulged the hope that, as time passed on, progress would be made in all these directions, and I agree with you in thinking that the Persian Government could embark upon no more remunerative form of expenditure than the improvement both of the maritime and the inland approaches to this place.

During the time in which I have filled my present office in India I have done my best to facilitate the progress of trade, and to ensure the adequate protection of British interests in the Gulf and in the adjoining provinces and territories. His Majesty's Government at home have also been warmly interested in the matter. The result of these efforts has been that we have gradu-

[1] *Vide* Cap. xxii. of vol. ii. of Lord Curzon's *Persia*.

ally developed the Nushki-Seistan trade-route, which is now a recognised channel of commerce to Eastern Persia. We have appointed a Consul in Seistan, and are about to extend the telegraph thither.[1] We now have Indian officers residing as Consul at Kerman, and as Vice-Consul at Bunder Abbas, where we are about to build a consular residence; we have connected Muscat by cable with Jask, and we hope for further telegraphic extensions in the interests of trade.[2] We have established a political agent at Bahrein: and we now have a Consul at Mohammera and a Vice-Consul at Ahwaz. The Karun trade-route has made substantial progress, and has been supplemented by the newly-opened road, with caravanserais and bridges, through the Bakhtiari country to Ispahan. A British Consul has also been appointed to Shiraz. We have improved and accelerated the mail service to all the Gulf ports. British India steamers now call at Koweit as well. During the same period British medical officers have been lent by us to the Persian Government to conduct the quarantine arrangements in the Gulf. Simultaneously British interests have found a most vigilant spokesman at Teheran in His Majesty's Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who has been good enough to accompany me throughout my present journey, and with whom I have enjoyed many opportunities of discussing the common interests of the Home and Indian Government in Persia. I hope that our discussions may be fraught with advantage to the interests that we jointly represent.

Altogether I think it may be said that in Bushire you receive an amount of attention that is not always extended in similar measure to places so remote from headquarters, while the fact that a British Resident lives in your midst and is able personally to look after

[1] This has been done from the sides both of British Baluchistan and Persian Baluchistan.

[2] The allusion was to a proposed extension of the cable (*a*) from Muscat to the island of Henjam where the British possess an old telegraph station, abandoned over ten years ago, and (*b*) from Henjam to Bunder Abbas. Both extensions have since been carried out.

your concerns, which I am glad to learn from your address that he does entirely to your satisfaction, is a further guarantee for their protection. I hope that the position which British interests thus enjoy, and which is neither artificial in origin nor recent in growth, since it is the result of nearly a century and a half of patient and laborious effort both by Government and by private enterprise, may long be maintained, and that Bushire may continue in the future, as it has done in the past, to be the centre from which this benign and peaceful influence radiates throughout Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf.

PLAGUE

MEETING OF VOLUNTARY PLAGUE WORKERS, POONA

ON November 11, 1899, the Viceroy attended a meeting of voluntary plague workers, numbering about 500 or 600, which was held in the Council Hall at Poona, and thus addressed the gathering:—

It is a source of great pleasure to me, in this beautiful hall, which I now see for the first time, to have received the words of sympathy and appreciative welcome that have just fallen from the lips of Mr. Padamjee, who, I understand, has been for many years one of your most leading and representative citizens. In one respect I cordially endorse what he has said. I am glad to be able to congratulate you, on this the occasion of my first visit to Poona, upon better times. There can be no doubt that you have suffered cruelly and long. Poona, during the past year, has, I am afraid, been like a city lying in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. The city has been largely deserted by its population, and fear and apprehension have naturally enough entered into the hearts of the people. Pestilence has not spared the home of the European any more than it has that of the Native, and in striking it in cases which are known to us all it has taken away the dearly beloved, the fair, and the young. There was another very pathetic case which I came across in my tour of

inspection this morning, when I learned of the death of a worthy Mohammedan citizen of this place, Jaffir Yusuf, who contracted the plague in the very hospital which, largely by his own munificence and activity, had been called into being. At the same time, the extent to which the native population have suffered is shown by the fact that they have lost, I believe, a total of more than 10,000 of their inhabitants in this city. In these circumstances great credit is, I think, due to that brave band who never lost heart in the deepest hour of adversity, but who, with unwavering courage, and with the purest self-sacrifice, have continued to wage the battle against the foul fiend that was encamped in your midst. It is to meet this gallant band of fighters, and to congratulate them, now that their victory may be said to have been well-nigh won, that I have come here this afternoon; and warm, I can assure you, are the feelings of respect with which, on behalf of the Government of India, I recognise their devotion; and warm also the thanks which I tender to them for the work that they have done. As the Chairman of the Municipal Commissioners himself indicated in his remarks, you have had an untiring and chivalrous commander in your Governor,[1] and a double compliment can perhaps not be better paid than by saying that the soldiers have not been unworthy of their captain.

It is quite certain that, but for voluntary effort—and I understand from what you, sir, tell me, that the majority of those whom I am addressing are volunteer workers—the state of Poona would have been much worse than it has been. Of course the Government here as elsewhere has its own organisation, and the officers of that organisation, both civil and military, have distinguished themselves by their ubiquitous and unsparing zeal. But there are strains which no official mechanism in the world, however perfect, is adequate to meet, without the supplement of some extraneous help. Such a crisis does occur when you have a great epidemic

[1] Lord Sandhurst.

breaking out in a populous city. Then you require not merely the trained energy of the official, but also the quiet and more subtle influence and co-operation of popular residents in the place, who will go to and fro, and in and out, among the people, and who are none the worse off if their local knowledge is also tinctured with a little of the enthusiasm of the amateur. You have had all these advantages in this place, and you have had further the assistance of a body of nurses as unselfish and devoted as in any country, or in any period of the world's history, have ever given themselves to the alleviation of the sorrows of their fellow-creatures.

What the future of plague may be none of us can say: we can but struggle on and do our best. Whether a cure for the pestilence is ever likely to be discovered it would be rash for any one of us, and particularly for one like myself, who is a layman, to predict. At present, by taking each case as soon as you can, by removing the patient from an infected house or quarter into the nearest hospital, and by surrounding him there with the conditions under which he is certain of pure air, and sound treatment, and of stimulating sustenance, you endeavour, and I believe that in a constantly increasing percentage of cases you manage, to pull him through.

But there are many prophylactics against the plague, which can, and which in my opinion ought as widely as possible to be employed. I say frankly on this occasion —and I do not care how widely my words may be spread—that in my judgment inoculation is by far the wisest system of prophylactics that you can adopt. I do not say so because I have the medical or the chemical knowledge which would enable me to pronounce with authority upon the constituent proportions, or upon the scientific results, of the serum. But I say so because, as a thinking human being, with the power of using my eyes and my ears, I cannot fail to be conscious of its demonstrable effects. If I find, as I do, that out of a hundred plague seizures among uninoculated persons,

the average of those who die is something about 70 to 80 per cent, and if I find that in a corresponding number of seizures among inoculated persons the proportions are entirely reversed, and that it is 70 to 80 per cent, if not more, who are saved—and these are calculations which have been furnished to me from more than one responsible quarter—then I say that figures of that kind cannot but carry conviction to my mind: and I altogether fail to see how, in the face of them, it is possible for any one to argue that inoculation is not a wise and necessary precaution. It is all very well to say that it is not infallible. No one, so far as I know, claims that it is. Its effects are apt to be obliterated in the passage of time. It acts differently in different cases. There are some physical constitutions to which it is apparently entirely unsuited. Unless the serum is most carefully administered, as well as scrupulously prepared, there is some danger arising from contamination. These are the risks, but I think the small risks, attendant upon the introduction of a system for which no one that I know of claims absolute faultlessness. But that inoculation has saved thousands and thousands of lives that would otherwise have been lost, that it gives to the patient a more than reasonable chance of recovery, that in spite of its theoretical conflict with the conservatism of Indian feeling, and with the traditions of Native medicine, the majority of the most distinguished Native medical practitioners in this country are already in its favour, and that more and more converts are being made from the remainder each day, these are propositions which I believe to be impossible to dispute.

If you have any doubt about it, take the case which was mentioned just now; take the cantonment which lies within the sight and knowledge of most of you in this room, and ask General Burnett, whose unfaltering devotion you know so well, what inoculation has done for him in the Poona cantonment.

I do not say that you ought to force inoculation upon the people. I am entirely of the opposite opinion.

It is difficult to force something upon a community which we ourselves who give it may be entirely convinced is for their good, but which, either from prejudice or from ignorance, they are equally convinced is for their harm. You can do it in the case of children because they are irresponsible. But it is not easy to do it in the case of a community of grown-up men; and still less easy is it in the case of an Asiatic country, where, as we all know, the feelings of conservatism are very strong, and where among the great mass of the population a knowledge of what we in European countries call medical science cannot be said to exist. But for the sake of those who know no better, in the interests not of science but of humanity—for that is the cause which I am pleading—and for the future welfare of thousands of human lives, let no effort be spared to spread the facts, to inculcate reason, and to win by persuasion that which you cannot extort by force.

But you may say to me (if I may turn an English proverb into terms that will be familiar to yourselves) that a seer of example is worth a maund of precept. I quite agree with that philosophy, and I may inform you that I have carried it out in my own person. Knowing that I was likely to spend many agreeable hours in visiting plague hospitals in this part of India, I practised my own precept, and I and my whole party were inoculated before we left Simla. I have had no cause to regret it; and I cordially commend the example to others who may be placed in a similar position.

It now only remains for me to bid you farewell. My visits to Bombay and Poona have, I think, enabled me to realise better than the study of newspapers or the reading of official reports how genuine have been the sufferings of the people, and how heroic the efforts that have been made to alleviate them. I have also seen that, here at Poona, as elsewhere in the world, the dark cloud has its silver lining, and that the co-operation against human suffering and disease in which you have all been engaged has done a great deal to draw tighter

the cords of harmony and fellow-feeling that should unite, and which I believe at the present juncture more than at any previous time do unite, all sections in this city. I shall go back to my work at headquarters encouraged and fortified by what I have seen, and I hope that the knowledge, little though it may be, that I have secured, will enable me the better to cope with any future emergency, should such arise. I will only add that, in such a case, I earnestly hope that the city of Poona may not again be one of the victims.

PLANTERS

DINNER GIVEN BY PLANTERS AT SILCHAR (ASSAM)

On November 8, 1901, the Viceroy was entertained at dinner at Silchar in Assam, by the planters of Cachar, and responded as follows to the toast of his health :—

The hospitality of the planter, of which I am the recipient this evening, is one of those time-honoured Indian traditions which are as unbroken as the rising and setting of the sun. Men may come and men may go, prices may rise or prices may fall, but like the poet's "brook," the generous instincts of the planter go on for ever. Indeed, I believe that his inclination to entertain his friends is enhanced, instead of being diminished, by the fact that he is engaged in the production of an article which, excellent as it is in its own place, is not wholly adapted to be the staple of such a festivity as this. Tea is never out of his thoughts in the daytime. Upon it he flourishes or pines. But, by an admirable law of reaction, when the evening comes on he invites his guests to dinner and he gives them something else.

I have now had the honour of being entertained by the planters of Tezpore and Silchar. I have similarly been the guest of the Companies that extract oil at Margherita and crush gold at Kolar. I have also been addressed by many Chambers of Commerce since I have been in this country. There are one or two words that I should like to say about the position of communities

such as these in India. It is a position unlike that of the majority of us. The bulk of Englishmen here belong either to the Army or to some branch of the Public Service. We are brought to India by a beneficent Government, are sustained by the same agency, and, after serving it for the stipulated term of years, we retire, gracefully or otherwise as the case may be. But the tea-planters of Assam and the South of India, like the teak-cutters of Burma, or the indigo-planters of Behar, or partners in the other industrial concerns which I have named, come here with different objects, and they work under a different system. Primarily, no doubt, they come to make a livelihood for themselves or to earn dividends for their shareholders. But secondarily, it cannot be forgotten that, if they take some money out of the country, they also bring a great deal in; where native capital, except perhaps in the case of the Parsis of Bombay, is so very timid and unventuresome, they produce and invest the rupees without which the country can never be developed, they employ and pay many hundreds of thousands of native workmen, and thereby raise the scale of wages, and they exploit the resources of parts of the country which would otherwise remain sterile or forgotten. They are, therefore, bearing their share in the great work of development, which in every sphere of activity, industrial, material, and moral, is required in order to enable a country to put forth its best and to realise its full measure of productivity or advancement.

Now, there is an old-fashioned idea that these independent pioneers of progress have nothing to do with Government, and that Government has no interest or concern in them. Sometimes, in the past, these ideas have bred feelings of estrangement and even of hostility between the two parties. Planters and others have been disposed to look upon Government and its ways with suspicion; and Government has perhaps retaliated by looking upon them with a cold and inconsiderate eye. That is not at all my view of our relative positions. I

look upon all Englishmen in this country (and if any Scotchmen or Irishmen are present, pray do not let them think that I am excluding them) as engaged in different branches of the same great undertaking. Here we are all fellow-countrymen, comrades, and friends. The fact that some of us earn our livelihood or discharge our duty by the work of administration, and others by cultivating the resources of the soil, does not differentiate us one from the other. These are merely the subdivisions of labour. They are not distinctions of object, or purpose, or aim.

Still more do I hold that relations of confidence and concord should prevail between the Government and those of its clients who are engaged upon the tasks to which I have referred. I repudiate altogether the fallacy that Government ought to be or need be antagonistic to private enterprise or industry or trade. It ought to be impartial, and sometimes it is bound to interfere. Both parties recognise that. But I maintain that equally is it a part of its duty to hold out the hand of friendship to industrial or commercial enterprise, to endeavour, by careful study, to understand its conditions, and to secure its loyal co-operation. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which I have endeavoured to approach and to handle these matters since I have been in this country. I gladly acknowledge that I have met with the most cordial reciprocity at the hands of every section of the business community, whether they were tea-planters or mine-owners or merchants or partners in other industrial concerns; and I truly believe that there is at the present time a feeling of mutual regard and friendliness between Government and the classes of whom I have been speaking, which is of great value to the smooth working of the machine of British Administration in this country.

In the case of the planters' industry, there is all the greater need for co-operation, since the labour that you employ is to a large extent procured and regulated by laws that have been passed by the State. In the Brahmaputra Valley it is in the main controlled by the

Act which we revised and re-enacted last spring. Here, in the Surma Valley, where so-called free labour is more common, considerable advantage is taken of another law, Act xiii. of 1859, which was not passed for the purpose, but which has been applied—not always, as I think, quite fittingly or successfully—to the labour upon plantations. Anyhow, the existence of these two statutes, and the extent to which the tea-planting industry is dependent upon them, are indications of the closeness of interest that must necessarily prevail between yourselves and the State.

As regards the present position of your fortunes, the Government is conscious of the hard times through which in many places the planters have been and still are passing. While the revised Act is coming into operation, what we need more than anything else is a period of diligent and peaceful adaptation to the circumstances of the new situation. We feel that we may reasonably call upon the planters to assist the Government in the execution of the law and in the fulfilment of its provisions; and I doubt not that we shall receive from them individually, as well as from their representative organisations, the ungrudging support to which we are entitled.

As I drove in here yesterday I had the honour of being escorted by a detachment of the Surma Valley Light Horse. I was reminded by it of the part that some members of that force had recently played upon a wider field than Assam. From the Surma Valley Light Horse came quite a number of recruits for that gallant contingent which Colonel Lumsden took out to South Africa, and of which I had the honour to be the honorary Colonel, the solitary military distinction that I have ever so far attained. I daresay that some of them are here to-night. A few, alas, have been left behind never to return, including the brave Major Showers, who was once your commandant here. His name, and that of the others who fell with him, will appear upon a brass tablet, which Lumsden's Horse have kindly allowed me

as their honorary Colonel to order for erection in the Cathedral at Calcutta. I hope that it may be completed and placed *in situ* in the forthcoming cold weather. When you go down there, do not fail to drop in to the Cathedral in order to see this record of the valour of your old friends. It will be a perpetual memorial, not merely of the wonderful movement that ran like a thrill through the whole heart of the Empire some two years ago, but also of the individual contribution that was made to it by the patriotism of Sylhet and Silchar.

QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL

PUBLIC MEETING, CALCUTTA

UPON the death of Queen Victoria, a public meeting, convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, was held at the Town Hall, on February 6, 1901, to express deep sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress, to convey an expression of loyalty and allegiance to the King on his accession to the throne, and to determine the most appropriate form of National Memorial that should be raised in the metropolis of India to perpetuate the memory of the late Sovereign. The Viceroy presided, and opened the proceedings with the following speech:—

We are met to-day upon a great and solemn occasion. For we are assembled to express, in the language, not of exaggeration or of compliment, but of simple truth, the feelings that lie deep in the hearts of all of us. They are feelings of a threefold character, of sorrow at the death of our beloved Queen, of loyalty to her successor the new King-Emperor Edward VII., and of our desire to commemorate the name and virtues of the deceased Sovereign by some enduring monument that shall hand down to later ages a visible memorial of our veneration and of her wonderful and glorious reign. I accept, therefore, with a mournful pride the honour which has been conferred upon me of presiding upon this historic occasion, and I will proceed to deal with the first resolution which has been committed to my care.

I have already had occasion to speak elsewhere of

the character and life of the late Queen,[1] and I need not now either repeat what I then said, or encroach upon the ground of subsequent speakers. We all feel the same about her, whether we are Europeans or Indians. Our hearts are swelling with gratitude that we were fortunate enough to live under such a Sovereign, with an answering love for the great love that she bore to all of us alike, and with eagerness to preserve her memory imperishable for all time.

In India I venture to assert that there are special reasons why we should feel strongly, and act independently, and of our own initiative, in the matter. Queen Victoria loved India, as no other monarch, certainly no other monarch from another land, has done. The fifteen Governors-General who served her, and of whom I shall always feel it a sad honour to have been the last, could one and all testify to her abounding regard for this country. She wrote regularly to each of them with her own hand, during the more than sixty years of her reign, words of wise counsel and of tender sympathy for the people whom she had charged them to rule. As we know, she learned the Indian language when already advanced in years. She was never unattended by Indian servants, and we have read that they were entrusted with the last sorrowful office of watching over her body after death. In her two Jubilee processions she claimed that the Indian Princes, and the pick of her Indian soldiers, should ride in her train. There are many of those Princes who could testify to the interest she showed in them, to the gracious welcome which she always extended to them when in England, and to the messages of congratulation or sympathy which they often received from her own hand. But it was not to the rich or the titled alone that she was gracious. She was equally a mother to the humble and the poor, Hindu and Mohammedan, man and woman, the orphan and the widow, the outcast and the destitute. She spoke to

[1] Speech in the Legislative Council on February 1, not reproduced here.

them all in simple language that came straight from her heart and went straight to theirs. And these are the reasons why all India is in mourning to-day, and why I claim that there are special grounds for which we should meet together, with no loss of time, to determine what we shall do to perpetuate this precious memory and this beneficent reign.

It is not without much anxious forethought and deliberation that I venture to put before this meeting, and before the Princes and peoples of India, a definite memorial scheme. We are all of us naturally attracted by the idea of charity. It fits in so well with what we know of Her Majesty's character, of the warmth of her heart, and the gentle sympathy that she always showed to the suffering and distressed. There is, God knows, enough of poverty and affliction in India—as indeed there must be in any great aggregation of so many millions of human beings—to appeal to any heart and to absorb any number of lakhs of rupees. But, amid all the possible claimants to our support, how should we select the favoured recipients? I have seen in the press a great number of suggestions made. Some have said that we should add a great sum to the Famine Relief Trust that was started last year by that munificent Prince, the Maharaja of Jaipur. Others have recommended the claims of Hindu widows, of female education, of travelling students, of the poor raiyat, of the sick and infirm, of technical or industrial schools, of higher research. In fact, there is not a philanthropic or educational object or institution in India that will not have its advocates for some share in the bounty that may be evoked on behalf of an Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am the last to deny that all of these are admirable objects fully worthy of our interest and support. I am confident that any one of them individually would have appealed to the heart of the late Queen. But it is quite clear that we cannot give to them all, and that we are not in a position to select any one of their number upon which to con-

centrate the affectionate tributes of the peoples. Some of them would appeal to Hindus, but not at all to Mohammedans; others would gratify the educated classes, but not the unlettered; others, again, would be confined to a single, though numerically the largest, class of the population.

Nor, again, would it do to pause in our appeals while we were disputing among ourselves upon which of these objects we should all unite. We should find that, before we had come to an agreement, we had wasted precious time and frittered away a golden opportunity, and that we had disappointed the eager hopes and the bursting generosity of the people. Therefore it is that I have ventured to come forward and, in consultation with a number of experienced and representative gentlemen, both European and Indian, have formulated the scheme which has appeared in the Press. I dare to think that the conception is a not ignoble one, and that it will not be unworthy of the great Sovereign whom we desire to commemorate, of all the princes who are emulous to do her honour, and of this wonderful country which has felt for her a loyalty aroused by no other human being. Posterity is apt to forget in whose honour charities were originally founded, or endowments named. Some day in the future the endowment itself is converted to another purpose, and the design of the original contributors is forgotten. Who, for instance, when Queen Anne's Bounty is annually distributed in England to augment the incomes of the smaller clergy, spares a thought for poor Queen Anne? On the other hand, it is different with a concrete memorial. It remains a visible and speaking monument to the individual, or the period, that is so commemorated. I venture to say that more good has been done in arousing public interest in the Navy in England, and in developing the lesson of patriotism in young Englishmen, by the spectacle of the heroic figure of Nelson standing on the summit of the great column in Trafalgar Square than would have been the case had the nation founded a hundred training

ships, or endowed a score of naval hospitals in his honour. But I can give you an even higher authority, namely, the authority of Her Majesty the Queen herself. When her husband, the Prince Consort, died in 1861, and a large sum was raised by public subscription for the foundation of a National Memorial to the deceased Prince, the Queen herself was asked what form she would prefer the memorial to take. I will read to you the terms of her reply. She wrote as follows to the Lord Mayor of London :—

It would be more in accordance with the feelings of the Queen, and she believes with those of the country in general, that the monument should be directly personal to its object. After giving the subject her maturest consideration, Her Majesty had come to the conclusion that nothing would be more appropriate, provided it was on a scale of sufficient grandeur, than a personal memorial to be erected in Hyde Park.

These were the Queen's own words ; and this was the origin of that noble Albert Memorial, which no one ever goes to London without seeing, which is one of the glories of the metropolis, and which will perpetuate to hundreds of thousands of persons who will never have heard of the Albert Orphan Asylum, or the Albert Medals, or the Albert Institute, the memory of the beloved and virtuous Consort of the British Queen.

And so I ask why should we not do for the Queen herself in the capital of India what she asked to have done for her husband in the capital of Great Britain? Shall we not be carrying out what we are justified in saying would have been in accordance with her own sentiments? Let us, therefore, have a building, stately, spacious, monumental, and grand, to which every new-comer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population, European and Native, will flock, where all classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past: and where father shall say to son and mother to daughter—" This

statue and this great hall were erected in the memory of the greatest and best Sovereign whom India has ever known. She lived far away over the seas, but her heart was with her subjects in India, both of her own race, and of all others. She loved them both the same. In her time, and before it, great men lived, and great deeds were done. Here are their memorials. This is her monument." Gentlemen, a nation that is not aware that it has had a past, will never care to possess a future; and I believe that, if we raise such a building as has been sketched, and surround it with an exquisite garden, we shall most truly, in the words of Shakespeare, find a tongue in the trees, and a sermon in the sculptured stones, that will proclaim to later generations the glory of an unequalled epoch, and the beauty of a spotless name.

I must add that I would be the last person to desire that the erection of a National Memorial here should stand in the way of the dedication of funds, should it be so desired, to local objects elsewhere. We do not want to coerce, or to dictate to anybody. A donor is entitled to a free choice of the object for which he contributes. There may be a strong desire expressed in different parts of India for a provincial local memorial, quite independently of ours. This seems to me quite natural. I do not see why any Presidency or Province should not please itself. They have their local standpoint and interests. They may want their memorial, whatever form it may take, all to themselves. There must be no jealousy in the matter. At the mouth of the grave all petty feelings must be extinguished; and charity which, as our great Christian Apostle has told us, "envieth not, vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up," must quarrel with nobody, but must be permitted to seek and find its own outlet. Even in such cases, however, I hope that the local Committees may decide to transmit to us a certain proportion of their funds, so that they may have their share in the monument of the nation. But I really think that I may go farther and may put it to these

various communities whether, except in cases where there is an obvious opening for local commemoration, they will not be acting wisely and reasonably in contributing to the Central Fund. And I say so for two reasons: partly because I want every one—all the Princes, and all the Provinces, and all the States—to have their part and portion in this National Memorial, and partly because if they respond to the appeal on at all the scale that seems to me not unlikely, it is possible that not merely may we have funds for the erection, and equipment, and endowment of this building, but we may have a balance that may appropriately be dedicated to some object of national charity or beneficence. What it should be I cannot now say. Indeed, it would be premature to discuss an object before we have collected the money. But I make these observations in order to indicate that philanthropy is by no means excluded from our purview, and that the wider the response to our appeal, the more likely we are able to supplement the Victoria Hall by some object that may gratify those who have a charitable or moral purpose at heart.

Now, may I just say one word about the selection of Calcutta as a site? It is quite true that Calcutta is not the gate of India. But neither is Washington the gate of America, nor Ottawa the gate of Canada, nor Rome the gate of Italy; and yet no one would dream, or has dreamed, of erecting a great American, or Canadian, or Italian, national memorial, except at those capitals. For instance, the Washington obelisk was erected, not at New York, a city of two millions of people, but at the capital, a city of a quarter of a million. Calcutta, in the same way, quite apart from being the most populous, is also the capital city of India. This generation did not make it so; but so it is, and it is now too late for the present, or for succeeding generations, to unmake it. The seat of Government inevitably tends to acquire a metropolitan character. The presence of the Supreme Government here for five months out of every twelve cannot be gainsaid. It was from the banks of the Hugli

that the orders of the Governor-General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings and Dalhousie; and the same process will, I suppose, go on in the future.

I merely make these remarks in order to argue that, if a National Monument is a desirable thing, I think that Calcutta is the inevitable site. It is said that we are rather out of the way. Perhaps we are; and yet sooner or later, just because this is the seat of Government, everybody finds his way here, whether he be an Indian Prince, or a European traveller, or an English merchant. Of course there are other cities with magnificent associations: Bombay with its splendid appearance, Delhi with its imperial memories, Agra with its majestic monuments, Madras with its historic renown. But the two seaports will probably have their own memorials: Agra is consecrated to a vanished dynasty and régime; while it is now too late—I sometimes wish it were not—to turn Delhi again into an imperial capital. No one will, I think, contend that we could possibly place a building of this character in a locality, however famous its past, or however central its position, where the Government of India is never found, which is not even the capital of a local Government, and where there is neither a European civil nor military population of any size. This building, if it is to be a great success, and if its contents are to be worthy of its name, will probably require the keen personal interest of the Viceroy for a number of years to come. I think that the making of the collection will thereby be a good deal facilitated. This interest I am quite prepared, and I am sure that my successors will equally be prepared, to give to it. But I doubt very much whether we could do it as well, or at all, at a distance.

I am glad to be able to say that I think the prospects of a remarkable, and indeed unexampled, response to our appeal, are encouraging. Since the scheme which I ventured to propound has been put forward, it has met with a most gratifying support at the hands of all the

representative organs of the Press, both European and Native, in Calcutta. I am very grateful to them for their discriminating and reasoned support. It has been communicated to the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of British India, who are about to hold meetings at which its merits will be discussed. It has excited the warm sympathy of the mercantile community in Calcutta, who have come forward with their accustomed liberality, and to whose contributions I shall presently refer. And, finally, it has appealed to the enthusiastic devotion, and the boundless generosity, of the Princes of India, who have lost in the Queen a Sovereign whom they all worshipped, a mother whom they revered, and who, I prophesy, will be found to vie with each other in their desire to contribute to the immortality of her name. One of these Princes is with us to-day — His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, who, if I may say so before his face, has, at a comparatively early age, displayed exceptional capacities, and has already testified, with a splendid and princely munificence, his loyalty to the British Crown. It is in keeping with the generous instincts of His Highness that he should have sent me a telegram, as soon as he heard of the institution of this fund, offering me the regal donation of 10 lakhs. From the Maharaja of Kashmir I have had the splendid offer of 15 lakhs. The Maharaja of Jaipur has expressed a desire to increase his magnificent endowment of the Famine Trust by another four lakhs and to give five lakhs in addition to the Memorial Fund. From the Mysore Durbar I have received the preliminary offer, to be increased, should the necessity arise, of one lakh. Now these offers have placed me in a position of some little embarrassment. For, while they testify to the noble instincts of their donors, they may yet be held to set a standard to which others may find it difficult to conform, and they may result in our receiving a sum largely in excess of our maximum ambitions. I have, therefore, decided to leave the matter in this way. It is too early at present to form any idea either of the

sum that this National Memorial will cost, or of the extent of the contributions that are likely to be offered. I do not want at the start to stint the liberality of any man. But if, a little later, we find that we are receiving sums in excess of those which we can properly spend, then I think that it will be a reasonable thing to fix a maximum, perhaps of one lakh of rupees, beyond which we should not be willing to profit by the generosity of any individual donor, and to which we should limit our acceptance of the larger offers that had been made. There is a sort of emulation in giving for a noble object; and it rests, I think, with those of us who are responsible for the management of this fund not to allow these instincts, however praiseworthy or honourable, to place too severe a strain upon the income of an individual or the revenues of a State.

And now I pass from the contributions of the Princes to those of the public at large. Here I rejoice to say that already the offers that have reached me have been splendid in their scale of munificence. Although the fund has not yet been opened for more than two days, I am able to announce subscriptions amounting to over 2½ lakhs.

I think, therefore, that I may fairly claim that we have launched the ship under good auspices, and that she is sailing with a fair wind behind her.

I have now dealt with all the topics that fall under the motion assigned to me, and I will only, in conclusion, urge you, in accepting it, to give the rein to a generosity that shall be worthy of the revered and illustrious memory which we desire to honour, of Bengal and Calcutta, the capital Presidency and the capital city of this country, and lastly of India itself, the mightiest and the most loyal dependency of the British Crown.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

On February 26, 1901, a special meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, at which the Viceroy explained at length his scheme for the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria. His address was as follows:—

I do not think it necessary to say much about the general question of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. A good deal of the doubt or misconception that at first existed arose from ignorance of the real nature of the plan. This has been in the main dissipated by the publication of the full text of the original Memorandum, and of the proceedings at our meeting of February 6 in the Calcutta Town Hall. There only remain a few points in this connection upon which something may be added. It is quite clear, and, as I have before said, very natural and proper, that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own memorials, although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. The question before us, and before me in particular, was whether there should be a National Memorial as well. My view was that this was an occasion on which India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. Had each province been left exclusively to erect its own memorial, and had no effort been made to concentrate the public sentiment in some grander conception, we should doubtless have had, as we shall have, a number of excellent funds, and institutions, and buildings. They would have represented the feelings and the generosity of the individual province or locality, but they would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation. Visitors to India, and

posterity in general, would hear or know little about this fund or that trust, however considerable the original endowment subscribed; the income derived from it, whether applied to charitable objects, or to the advancement of education or research, could benefit but a small number of persons out of the population even of the province or district; and so, in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.

The case, therefore, for a National Memorial seemed to me to be a very strong one, and nothing that I have read, or that has occurred since, has done anything to shake it. The question next arose whether, an all-Indian memorial being accepted, it should or should not have assumed a concrete shape. There is much, I think, to be said on both sides of this question; and we ourselves felt this so strongly that we decided to pronounce for neither to the exclusion of the other. All that we did was to give priority to the concrete memorial, or, in other words, to ensure its execution as a first charge upon the fund. No one could say, none of us can yet tell, what will be the total sum that we shall collect, or whether it would have been adequate to the constitution of a capital fund the income accruing from which could be devoted to an object of really national service. Moreover, amid all the multiplicity of opinions, no one could inform us, and no one has yet been able to decide, what should be the non-concrete object to which an all-Indian contribution should be applied. And, if this difficulty has been felt by smaller communities, who are only called upon to express the desires or to provide for the needs of restricted areas, how much more does it apply, and on a hundredfold scale of magnitude, to the entire continent. I think, therefore, it will be conceded that, given the desirability of a National Memorial, we acted not unwisely in allowing priority to the concrete monument, leaving to subsequent discussion the allocation of the surplus funds that we may receive. Though I should

not like to be too sanguine at the present stage, it seems to me to be not at all improbable that we may be presented with a total sum large enough to enable us, after building the hall, to do something substantial in the interests of charity; and no one will be better pleased than myself if this is the result. I have devoted much anxious thought to a consideration of the numerous suggestions that have been made. I have read many scores, if not hundreds, of these, and have been struck by the fact that, meritorious as many of them are, no two are identical. In other words, there is no sort of national unanimity on the subject. For the present I am disposed to think—if there be such a surplus—that we shall find it difficult to fix upon a better object to which to devote it than the Indian People's Famine Trust, which was inaugurated by that splendid donation from the Maharaja of Jāipur last year. Famine is the one great calamity that is capable of attacking the whole country. Its relief is the one great charitable boon that will affect not isolated units, or even hundreds of thousands, but millions. Moreover, the objects of the Famine Relief Trust are outside of, and do not conflict with, the proper sphere of Government duty. These, however, are only my own ideas, and I give them for what they may be worth.

As regards Technical Education, I have not a word to say against an object in itself so admirable. It is in many ways the need of the future in India. But I have this to say about it at the present stage. The interest upon no fund that might be accumulated could possibly provide for more than the education of an infinitesimal minority per annum among the youths of India. The principles upon which they are to be trained, and the openings that might be found for their professional abilities and attainments, are not yet determined, and even in England, after fifteen years of struggle and discussion, are still in a fluid state. Finally, I hardly think it fair to connect the desire to commemorate the Queen's name with a task that has no definite association with her memory, and that is so pre-eminently the duty of the

Government and of the community in combination as that of providing for the education of a particular section of the population. Some people talk and write as though technical instruction were going to solve the Indian agrarian problem, and to convert millions of needy peasants into flourishing artisans. Long after every one in this room has mouldered into dust the economic problem will confront the rulers of India. It is not to be solved by a batch of Institutes or a cluster of Polytechnics. They will scarcely produce a ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces. Indeed, if they were to fail, or to remain empty, as might conceivably be the case at this stage of our evolution, and as has been the case with some of the premature experiments already made, where would the memory and honour of Queen Victoria be? Technical education is a problem that must be met by the patient and combined efforts of the Supreme Government, the local Governments, Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, mercantile firms, and philanthropic and enterprising men. Let us all give to it that attention, but do not let us use the Queen's name to absolve us from our legitimate responsibilities.

It seems to me, therefore, that if we succeed in raising a great National Fund, which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall and partly to the still further endowment of the Famine Trust, we shall, at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will beneficially affect the largest number. In the meantime, however, I have no desire to pronounce with finality upon the secondary or utilitarian object; and, while our funds are accumulating, I shall be very glad to profit by the advice that will doubtless continue to reach me from many influential quarters.

Next I come to the question whether, presuming an all-Indian memorial to be desirable, it was for the

Viceroy to place himself at the head of the movement. I must leave this delicate question to be decided by the voice of others, not by my own. Perhaps, after all, the result will be the most conclusive answer. All I would say at this moment is that, if the position of the Viceroy is to be what, in my opinion, it ought to be, the opportunity of fusing and giving expression to the aspirations of the entire community is one that he should be proud to seize, and that, if in some quarters it be said that he should have left the movement to ferment and to come to a head as best it could, I suspect that, had this advice been followed, it would have been said in a good many other quarters that he had signally failed to realise the unique opportunities of his position, and had allowed a golden occasion to slip by of vindicating the loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Empire to the British throne.

I pass to another of the preliminary questions which it has been desirable to discuss. It appears to have been thought in some quarters that the scheme for a Victoria Hall in Calcutta has been snatched up, so to speak, in precipitate haste, and foisted almost without consideration upon the notice of the public. This is far from having been the case. This scheme was not for the first time conceived and matured during the fortnight that elapsed between the death of Her Majesty the Queen and the Town Hall Meeting. On the contrary, it has rarely been out of my mind during the two years in which I have been in India. I had been collecting information, consulting individuals, working out all the possible ramifications of the proposal, long before the Queen was smitten by her last fatal illness. I had of course no idea at that time of proposing such a building as a permanent memorial to the Queen, because so marvellous was her vitality that such an idea as her early decease had never entered into our minds. But I had hoped, before leaving India, to carry the idea into execution as a fulfilment of what I regard as a great imperial duty, viz. the handing down to posterity of

what the past has failed to provide for us, that is, a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty. I had even gone so far as to talk over this scheme with friends, to prepare designs for a building, and to think of where it might be placed. Then came the death of the Queen: and then it was that, not merely in my own mind, but in that of the representative persons whom I consulted, the idea took shape that we were already in possession of the germ of a great imperial memorial, worthy of Queen Victoria and worthy of India. It was, therefore, no sudden or inchoate project that was submitted to the Calcutta Meeting. On the contrary, how complete it was the information that I shall presently place before you will enable you to judge.

There is only one other prefatory question to which it is necessary to advert. I have seen it asked why, instead of suggesting a scheme to others, I did not write to all the Princes, and Governors, and leading men, and ask them to suggest one to me, and then decide according to the nature of their replies. I invite you soberly to consider what the contents of such a post-bag would have been. It needs no intuition to discern that I should have received not one scheme but one hundred, and I daresay as many more. And then a representative committee would have had to be convened in order to discuss these schemes. It would have taken some weeks to assemble. Its deliberations would probably have taken as many months, and meanwhile where would the enthusiasm and the liberality of the people have been? We all know that even the noblest emotions are apt to dwindle or to be chilled if an outlet is not provided for them while they are still warm, and a course more likely to freeze the heart of the generous Indian public than that which has been suggested I cannot imagine.

From this brief discussion of what I have called pre-

liminary questions, I now pass on to a more detailed examination of the scheme of a Victoria Hall, as it exists in the minds of those who have originated it. And the first subject to which I shall address myself is this. What will be the contents of the building when raised? I shall next ask where and how can they be procured; and having attempted to answer both these questions, I shall, I trust, have left a clear impression in the mind of the public both as to what the scheme is and as to what it is not. Even among those who have warmly supported the idea, some doubts have been expressed on these points. "You are going to build a magnificent hall which will only be a second-class museum or an empty shell. You talk of collecting Indian relics and trophies, where are they? You want to commemorate great men and great events, who and what are they?" These are the sort of questions—and I do not regard them as unreasonable—that have been addressed to me. Indeed in some quarters there has been an attempt to throw ridicule upon the entire scheme. I shall, I hope, be able to show these critics that there is no ground for their unfriendly suspicions; and that all India may legitimately be asked to co-operate in a movement which, if its help be given, may easily be endowed with a truly cosmopolitan character, which will have a most practical as well as a sentimental side, and will contain not trash but treasures.

The building will be called the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will therefore, I think, be fitting that a central hall or a central space should be devoted to the mementoes of Her Majesty the Queen. Whether or not the statue of the Queen that has already been executed shall be erected inside or outside this building, is a matter that will remain over for subsequent decision. Probably it will remain outside. A separate representation of Her Majesty might perhaps be placed inside the hall. Around it might be grouped memorials of her reign. It might be possible to secure autograph letters from her to the various Governors-General and Viceroys

who have had the honour to serve her. I at any rate shall be prepared to contribute, as the last. Some other personal relics we may be so fortunate as to secure. Upon the walls of this hall might be inscribed in letters of gold upon marble or upon bronze, both in English and in the different vernaculars, the famous Proclamation of 1858, and such other messages as the Queen has, at various times, addressed to the Indian people. If the originals are procurable, they might be placed in glass-cases below. The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2200 years through his inscriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?

I have, on a previous occasion, observed that the Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. I will now proceed to indicate the character of the incidents and the personality of the individuals, who may perhaps be held worthy of this honour, and the manner in which it may be conferred. At the beginning it is almost necessary to draw a line which shall be the starting-point of our historical procession. I may say at once that the idea is not to convert this hall into an archæological museum, or to compete with the various institutions of that character that already exist in different parts of the country. I conceive it to be impracticable in a single building to convey a synopsis of all Indian history from the time of the Aryan immigration to the days of electric tramways and motor cars. I have not the slightest desire to accumulate here Buddhistic sculptures, or implements of the bronze and stone ages. They will find their home more fitly in the imperial and provincial museums. Similarly, I do not think that we can include representations of the legendary and quasi-mythological epochs of Indian history, the period, in fact, of the epics. Anything that dates from those days can only be a copy of originals existing elsewhere, or can have what is in the main an antiquarian rather than

a historical interest. In practice it will, I think, be found that the earliest date from which it will be possible to accumulate any sort of original record, will be the foundation of the Moghul dynasty. We may begin with Baber, and from then we may continue to the present date. Throughout the world progress seems to have taken a definite leap forward at about the same epoch; and the situation will be much the same as though in England we began to make a collection with the Tudors, in Russia with Ivan the Terrible, in France with Francis I., in Germany with Charles V., in Turkey with Solyman the Magnificent, in Persia with the Sefavi dynasty, in Japan with Iyeyasu.

I will first take Indian history. It ought, I think, to be possible to obtain some records of every period and every dynasty from the Moghuls to the present day. These records would take the form of paintings, enamels, sculptures, manuscripts, and personal relics and belongings. I have heard of there being offered for sale in India in recent years the head-dress of Akbar and the armour of Jehangir. Passing to the Mahratta ascendency, we should procure portraits of Sivaji and the leading Mahratta princes, generals, and statesmen. Then, if we turn to the Sikhs, we should have similar memorials of the leading Gurus, from Nanak to Guru Govind, of Maharajas Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh, and Golab Singh, of Jummu and Kashmir. All of these are, I believe, procurable. From Rajputana we should collect memorials of Rana Pertab of Mewar, Raja Man Singh, and Siwai Jai Singh, the astronomer of Jaipur, and Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. From Gwalior we should desire to commemorate Mahadaji Rao Scindia and Dowlet Rao Scindia; from Bhopal the Nawab Sikandra Begum, from Hyderabad Asaf Jah, the first Nizam. For my own part I should not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British, provided that their memories are not sullied with dishonour or crime. I would not admit so much as the fringe of the *pagri* of a ruffian like the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include

memorials of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There is, I believe, a very interesting picture of the death of Tippu at Seringapatam in the palace of the Nawab of Murshidabad. If we come to more modern times, I have already collected, with the aid of those gentlemen who have been good enough to advise me, a list of the names of eminent Indian statesmen, writers, poets, administrators, judges, religious reformers and philanthropists who might be entitled to commemoration in such a Valhalla. I will mention a few typical names alone:—Omichund, the great Bengal banker in the days of Lord Clive, Ali Verdi Khan, Raja Naba Kissen, Mir Jafar, Chaitanya, the founder of Vishnuism, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who died in England, Keshub Chunder Sen, whose portrait is in the Town Hall, Rajendra Lal Mitra, the antiquarian, Raja Krishna Chandra, Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College, Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidayasagar, the social reformer and philanthropist. To these might be added the more eminent of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, and of the Talukdars of Oudh. In the memorandum previously issued were mentioned the names of well-known statesmen or public characters, such as Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Jamsetji Jeejheebhoy.

I now pass to British history. Here we shall endeavour to secure portraits, or busts, or mementoes—and where the originals are not forthcoming, reproductions may perhaps be available—of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire—such as Sir T. Roe, Job Charnock, Sir Josiah Child; Governors, Governors-General, and Viceroys from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Elijah Impey; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or Administrators of the provinces —such names, for instance, as Thomas Pitt, the grandfather

of Lord Chatham, Sir Thomas Munro, and Streynsham Master from Madras; Sir John Malcolm, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple from Bombay; Sir Henry Lawrence, James Thomason, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Ramsay, from other provinces. There will be a category of great generals and soldiers of whom I may instance a few—Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake, Lord Harris, Lord Keane, Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Outram, Lord Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Roberts. There will be frontier heroes, such as Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel James Skinner, Colonel John Jacob, and General John Nicholson; military adventurers such as the famous George Thomas, who rose from being a sailor and a cavalry leader to be Raja of Hansi, and the cluster of foreigners who entered the service of Mysore, the Mahrattas, and Ranjit Singh. There will be the men of letters and science; historians, such as Orme, Tod, Sleeman, Elliot, James Mill, Lord Macaulay, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Hunter; students or scholars or antiquarians, such as Sir William Jones, James Rennell, H. H. Wilson, H. T. Colebrooke, James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Professor Max Muller, Professor Monier Williams, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule; financiers, such as James Wilson; jurists, such as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Stephen; explorers and pioneers, such as Captain John Wood, Alexander Barnes, Moorcroft, Hayward, Sir Joseph Hooker; reformers and philanthropists, churchmen and missionaries, such as John Clark Marshman, Carey, David Hare, Dr. Duff, Bishop Heber and Cotton. These are only a few of the names that have occurred to me, and are neither a complete nor an exhaustive list. They are merely typical instances of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British dominion in India, and that seem to me to be entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now, having specified the type of person whom it is proposed to honour, let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money subscribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

A second gallery or galleries will be devoted to paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general, both of persons and of scenes. Here will be hung original pictures and likenesses, or where these are not procurable, copies of such. There are still scattered about in Calcutta and Bengal, and I daresay in other parts of India, quite a number of oil paintings, dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the last, commemorative of interesting persons and events. Now and then these find their way into the auction-room. More commonly they rot into decay. It is possible, in mezzotints and stipple and line engravings, to recover almost a continuous history of Anglo-Indian worthies, battles, sieges, landscapes, buildings, forts, and scenes during the last two hundred years.

While speaking of pictorial representation, it has been suggested to me that around the open corridors of the inner courts and quadrangles of the building might be depicted frescoes of memorable incidents or events. Fresco-painting is an art in which the Indian craftsman once excelled. Witness the pictured caves of Ajunta, the painted walls and ceilings of Fatehpur Sikri, the decorated pavilions of Agra and Delhi, the brilliant

summer-house of Tippu at Seringapatam. This art is not extinct in India, and is being fostered and revivified in Institutes and Schools of Art. I do not see why great historic scenes, such as the three battles of Panipat or the battles of Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani; the self-immolation of Rani Pudmine and the women of Chitor, the Rahtor Queen closing the city gates against her husband when he returned defeated, the first audience of British factors with the Great Moghul, the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, the Proclamation of the Queen at Allahabad in 1858, the Delhi Durbar of 1877, should not be thus commemorated. Precautions would have to be taken for the proper conservation of the frescoes during the rains. If pigments were found to be an unsuitable medium, however applied, recourse might be had to mosaics. Should more durable memorials still be preferred, it might be decided to fix bronze or copper plates in panels on the inner walls, containing inscriptions or bas-reliefs, dedicated to memorable scenes.

In the centre of the galleries that are occupied by paintings, or in adjoining rooms, I suggest that there should be placed stands and cases, with glass lids, containing the correspondence and handwriting, the personal relics and trophies and belongings of great men. It ought to be possible to procure autograph letters of all the Governors-General and Viceroys of India, and of the majority of those whose names have already been mentioned. Miniatures, articles of costume, objects that belonged in lifetime to the deceased, and that recall his personality or his career—all of these will fitly appear in such a collection. I may mention as an illustration the objects that are exhibited in the King's Library at the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in many kindred institutions.

A wider extension of the same principle may be applied to the commemoration of historical events. I should like to exhibit the originals, or where these cannot be procured copies, of Treaties, and Sanads, and Charters. I fancy that the original Charter of Queen

Elizabeth of 31st December 1600 to the merchants of the East India Company is no longer extant, and that the earliest surviving grant is that of Charles II. in 1661. Excellent facsimiles have been made in England of several of these documents. It may be noted in passing that the copy of Magna Charta which is exhibited in the British Museum is not the original, but only a reproduction. The oldest extant MS., which is itself not the original, is kept under lock and key in a fire-proof safe elsewhere. A great many original documents are, however, in the possession of the Government of India, or of the India Office at home; and a selection of the more interesting or important might be made from these. As regards earlier Indian history we may perhaps be so fortunate as to come into possession, or may be favoured with the loan, of Oriental manuscripts of which there are still a great many in this country, though, from lack of care and of means for collecting them, the majority have either perished or are fast leaving the country.

From documents or manuscripts it is a natural transition to maps and plans, both Native and European. It should not be difficult to collect, either in original or in duplicate, a complete set of all the maps of Calcutta from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. Similar plans should be procurable of Fort St. George at Madras and of Bombay, and of many other factories, cities, and forts throughout the country. There is no means of studying local history and topography to compare with that of maps, and I should hope that we might acquire and exhibit a first-rate collection.

Side by side with maps I should be inclined to place newspapers. We could not hope to make any complete collection. That is the function of a library or of a museum. But a careful selection of some of the rarer or more interesting specimens might throw valuable sidelights upon the past. Coins might also be very properly included. Here we might make an exception and penetrate even farther back than the Moghul days. A microcosm of the history of India through all the ages

might be constructed from a classified exhibit of the different coins that have been current in India, Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Hindu, Afghan, Moghul, and finally British, including a specimen of every coin that has been struck in India during the Queen's reign. From the contents of a few cases we might grasp the outlines of history more vividly than from a library of books.

Among other objects that have occurred, or have been suggested, to me, I may mention musical instruments and porcelain. To some extent these are rather on the line between a historical gallery, which the Victoria Hall is intended to be, and a museum of the arts. Both, however, have a definite historical bearing. In a country where music has reached such a high pitch of development as in India, a collection of native instruments is in a certain sense a page of history. In the case of china, it may be even more so. For instance, there is no more interesting record than the few surviving pieces of the magnificent dinner services that were used in the time of the old East India Company. We have only a few specimens left in Government House, the bulk having long ago perished. There used to be a great deal at Madras, but what little of this was left has, I believe, drifted to London.

And now I pass to what I hope may be a leading feature of the Victoria Hall. Several of the Indian Princes have already subscribed to the Central Memorial Fund. I have little doubt that many more will do so. I have observed in those organs of the press which have addressed themselves to belittling this scheme, the suggestion that pressure has been, or will be, brought upon Princes or Durbars to contribute. This insinuation is both ungenerous and unjust. No solicitation has been, or will be, made. It is open to a native Chief to join or to stand aloof as he pleases. He is not likely to set before himself any other standard than the measure of his own desire to join in a National Memorial to the Queen. That their contributions will not be devoted to an object in which they will bear no part or share will

be evident from what I am about to say. The wonderful history of the Native States, the splendour of their courts, the achievements of their great men, can only fitfully be gathered by the visitor to India, or even by the resident in the country, from visits to their capitals and courts. I should like to constitute a Princes' Court or gallery in the Victoria Hall, where such memorials should be collected as the Princes were willing to contribute or to lend. We might collect pictures of leading Princes and Chiefs. We might commemorate notable events in their dynasties and lives. They might be willing in some cases to present us from their armouries with duplicates of the large collections that are there contained. Spears, and battle-axes, and swords, shields, and horse-trappings, and coats of mail—these are the abundant relics, in India and elsewhere, of an age of chivalry. Where gifts are not found possible, the Chiefs might be prepared, as is so often done by the Royal Family, by noblemen, and by rich collectors in England, to allow a portion of their collections to appear on temporary loan, the lender being of course put to no expense, and his possessions being returned to him at the termination of such period as he himself desired.

Whatever be our success as regards native arms, I entertain no doubt of being able to amass a first-rate collection of British specimens. I would propose to devote one gallery to a chronological illustration of the history of British arms in this country. I would present in cases a complete collection of British uniforms from the days of the earliest sepoys of the Company to modern times. From the various arsenals it will be a matter of ease to collect specimens of the muskets, carbines, and rifles, the powder-flasks and pistols, the swords and lances, the cannon and guns of the various phases of military fashion in this country. An enclosed verandah in the fort at Lahore is so packed at present with Sikh trophies that everything cannot be got inside. Elsewhere military trophies are lying scattered about unhonoured and unknown. In the same gallery I would

place a complete collection of British medals that have been granted for service in this country and on its borders; and here, too, I should hope will repose the tattered regimental banners that tell the tale of glory won, and pass on an inspiration to successors.

Another very proper adjunct of the Victoria Hall would be a collection of models. There are many objects of immense historic interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished, or could not introduce into our galleries because of their size and unsuitability. These may very fitly be represented by models. Such models might, for instance, be made of the ships that have brought European merchants and adventurers to India, from the vessel in which Vasco da Gama first cast anchor in the harbour of Calicut, on May 20, 1498, to the pioneer sloops, a century later, of Captain James Lancaster and Sir Henry Middleton, and from them to the four-masted sailing ships that still lift their spars against the sunset on the Hugli, and the ocean liners whose smoking funnels bear the colours of the British India and the P. and O. Nor need models be confined to ships. Nothing brings home more closely the stories of battlefields, and sieges, and assaults, than well-designed models. The storming of Chitor or Gwalior, of Bhurtpore or Seringapatam, becomes a different thing to all of us, when we have the actual scene reproduced in miniature before our eyes. I shall certainly have placed in the gallery a model of old Fort William in Calcutta, of which I am at present engaged in identifying and demarcating the outlines. I remember when at Oxford seeing in the Bodleian Library a white marble model of the Calcutta Cathedral according to the original and uncompleted design. But why it should repose at Oxford instead of Calcutta I do not know.

I have now dealt to the best of my ability with the principal categories of objects that appear to be suitable for inclusion in the Victoria Hall. Perhaps my hearers will be inclined to agree with the friend who, after I had unbosomed myself to him on the matter, exclaimed,

"Why, the danger is that you will have, not too little, but too much!" I will now proceed to point out the sources from which these and similar objects may be procured.

Two main channels of collection I have already indicated, namely, gift and loan. Many persons who would not be willing to part with cherished possessions might consent to lend them; and, as in the Bethnal Green and other museums, we might perhaps hope for a succession of such favours. Nevertheless, for the bulk of our exhibits we must look to gift or purchase. Fortunately we already possess the admirable nucleus of such a collection as I have described in this place. Who can doubt that the fine marble statue of Warren Hastings by Westmacott, which is now effectually concealed from public view in the southern portico of the Town Hall—a building which is itself condemned—must find its way to the Victoria Hall? The same may be said of Bacon's great marble figure of Lord Cornwallis on the ground floor of the same building, a masterpiece that is now strangely out of place amid dusty records and scribbling clerks. If the Town Hall be, as alleged, condemned, there are other portraits and busts that might very well be transferred to the new building. There are the pictures of Her Majesty Queen Victoria herself and the Prince Consort, which I believe that she presented to the Town of Calcutta. There are portraits of Lords Clive and Lake now hanging in dark corners of the staircase, of Dr. Duff, and Dwarkanath Tagore. There are busts of James Prinsep and the Duke of Wellington. In the High Court are two pictures of Sir Elijah Impey, one by Kettle, the other by Zoffany. Perhaps the learned Judges might spare us one. The Asiatic Society, whom I am addressing to-night, in their plethora of treasures, possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder, Sir William Jones. They might like to diffuse his fame. Similarly, they own portraits of four Governors-General, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, which are now only seen by a

few score of persons, and which they might be willing to place on loan for the edification of a larger public.

I may next turn to the building in which I am now speaking, and which was originally erected with very much the same object, namely, a National Valhalla, as the new hall which we are about to raise. I do not think that any one will claim that it has quite succeeded in vindicating its initial claim. Lord Dalhousie's statue, which I see opposite me, originally belonged to Government House, and was surrendered by Sir John Lawrence to this building, after its completion in 1866. Separate funds were raised for the commemoration of Havelock and Nicholson, and resulted in the busts of those two great men that we see before us. Chantrey's beautiful statue of Lord Hastings, which stands in the entrance by which we all came in, has nothing to do with this building at all, for the portico in which it was placed was raised in Lord Amherst's time to hold the statue, and the Dalhousie Institute was subsequently tacked on behind it. It will, I think, be generally conceded that all these memorials will find a more appropriate and a more worthy home in the Victoria Hall. I may carry the same line of argument and illustration farther. We have three busts of Sir T. Metcalfe in the Metcalfe Hall. Having bought the place for Government, I shall be very glad to hand over one of them to the Victoria Hall. Metcalfe, the founder of a Free Press in India, ought to be commemorated there. Perhaps, too, we may appeal for some friendly assistance to the Bar Library. There, I believe, are to be found, unless they have already perished, fourteen volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the handwriting of Mr. Justice Hyde. There is his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nuncomar, and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. I believe that there is also in the High Court the original bond given by Bolagi Das to Nuncomar, which was pronounced a forgery at the trial. Speaking of Warren Hastings, I have been told that some years ago, and I daresay still, unless they

have been devoured by white ants, there were contained in the Collector's Office at Chittagong, of all places in the world, quite a number of official documents in the writing of that great man and bearing his signature, with those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering, and Monson. Similar documents are, I doubt not, to be found in the *almirahs* or cupboards of many a district officer throughout the country, and could, with a little search, be recovered from an oblivion which in a climate such as this is sooner or later synonymous with total destruction. I noticed a short time ago a cry of pain from a Madras paper at the idea that I might be going to indent upon Madras for the letters of Sir Thomas Munro. Well, and how does Madras show its reverence for that most interesting correspondence? By allowing it to repose in a dingy cupboard in the Collector's Office at Salem. I have no desire to rob any place, or any society, or any individual, of that which may be dear to them. But I submit that we should at least treat Sir Thomas Munro better, for it would be difficult to treat him worse than his own Presidency has done.

I have said enough, I think, to indicate that in this country, in record-rooms, in offices, and in *kutcherries*, will be found a plentiful mine of documentary richness. From the Imperial Library, and from the Foreign Office here, we may be able to make a substantial contribution. Appeals in the newspapers will doubtless bring to our knowledge the existence of many objects at present lost to the public view. In England I should make similar appeals. The India Office might be willing to restore to us some of the objects belonging to the Old East India Company which are in their possession, or to present us with copies or duplicates. I would myself undertake to write to the families, or descendants, or living representatives of the remarkable men whom we may desire to commemorate. Learned Societies might be willing to contribute something to us from their abundance. Finally, there is perpetually passing through the hands of the London dealers and auctioneers a stream of

interesting memorials of the Anglo-Indian past, which attract no notice, because they do not belong to celebrated collections, or because their owners are not known to fame, but upon which a careful watch might be kept by experts appointed for the purpose. I entertain no shadow of a doubt that, within ten years of the date upon which the doors of the Victoria Hall are opened, there will, unless there be some grave and inexplicable relapse in public interest or in competent supervision in the interim, be collected therein an exhibition that will be the pride of all India, and that will attract visitors to this place from all parts of the world. I should add that, if sufficient means are forthcoming, I would certainly propose adequately to endow the building, so that a sum may be annually available for adding to the contents, and maintaining them at a high standard of excellence.

I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what the Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be a museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metal-ware of every description, with muslins, and kinkobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquer-ware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological, or architectural museum. All these objects are served by existing institutions; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a National Gallery, and that alone; and that it should exist not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past. Neither is it proposed to constitute the Victoria Hall, even while retaining its character as a Historical Gallery, a museum representative of all countries. We could not possibly collect the materials: many of them would not survive the Indian climate, and the result would be an indescribable medley, which would

merely confuse instead of informing and stimulating the senses. It is, I think, essential that the art, the science, the literature, the history, the men, the events which are therein commemorated must be those of India, and of Great Britain in India, alone. That is the whole pith and marrow of the idea, and I venture to think that it would be most unwise to depart from it.

I must remove another misconception. Inquiries have been addressed to me as to whether there might not be incorporated with this building a magnificent Imperial Library, where there should be collected all the notable works, in whatever language, that have been written about India, or that have been composed in the Indian vernaculars. The authors of these inquiries are perhaps unaware that I have already provided for this object. For nearly two years negotiations have been proceeding for the acquisition of the Metcalfe Hall and its library by the Government. They are now on the verge of a happy termination. We propose to renovate and redecorate that handsome building; to transfer to it the whole of the Imperial Library at present deposited in the Home Department of the Government of India; and to present it with an endowment sufficient to enable it, within no very lengthy space of time, to become a really representative collection of the literature that I have mentioned. We have obtained, through the good offices of the Home Government, the services of a most competent Librarian from the British Museum, and I hope, before I leave India, to have converted the Metcalfe Hall into a miniature edition of the Library and Reading Room in that great institution, a place which shall be the haven of Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars, and the nursery of writers and students.[1] There is obviously, therefore, no need for adding a Library to the Victoria Hall.

There is, however, one feature that might, I think, not improperly be included in the building. Like most

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structures of a similar character in Europe, it should probably possess a really fine hall, distinct from the hall that is especially dedicated to the Queen. Such a hall might be used for the Chapters of the Indian Orders, for a great durbar, or for any other ceremonial function. An organ might be placed at one end for concerts and choral performances. Upon occasions it might supply a meeting-ground for the public, much in the same way as the Banqueting Hall is used at Madras. As time passes on, benefactors might adorn this Hall with pictures or frescoes, and with the statues of princes and great men. I may add that in the future I hope that the leading Chiefs may be seen at Calcutta more frequently than in the past. I have for some time been in negotiation for the purchase of Hastings House, the old country residence of Warren Hastings, at Alipore; and if this transaction be satisfactorily concluded, I propose to utilise the house, which is a fine building, quite apart from its historical associations, for the occasional entertainment of the Princes, who are always so lavish in their hospitality to the Viceroy, as the guests of the Government of India in Calcutta.[1]

A few details only remain to be noticed. It is too early as yet to speak about the style of a building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled, as will most of the other points that I have raised, by a representative Committee later on. There will probably, however, be general agreement that it should be built of the best and most solid material, white marble for choice, and that it must be so constructed as to resist the deteriorating influences of a tropical climate. There must be unity of design in the plan, but scope must be left for later generations to add to the original structure should the occasion arise. It has already been announced that

[1] The purchase was concluded, and a number of Indian Princes and illustrious guests (such as the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Heir-Apparent of Afghanistan, and the Tashi Lama of Tibet) were subsequently entertained as State guests in the renovated Hastings House.

it is proposed to inscribe, in a prominent place in the building, the names of all subscribers of half a lakh and upwards. When the collection has been made, cheap but full guide-books will be prepared both in English and in the vernacular, so as to tell the visitor where to go, and what it is that he is about to see. Finally, the surrounding space will be converted into a beautiful garden, which, with due regard to the flowerbeds and lawns, should be accessible to all, and will be a joy and delight to the town.

Such is the scheme of the Victoria Hall, as it presents itself to me, assisted by the able advice of the numerous authorities and scholars whom I have consulted. I hope to have shown you that it will not be a merely sentimental creation, but that it will have a most utilitarian aspect as well. There is no more practical or business-like emotion than patriotism. I believe that this building will give to all who enter it, whether English or Indians, a pride in their country, in addition to reminding them of the veneration that all alike entertain for the great Sovereign in whose honour it was built. I believe that it will teach more history and better history than a studyful of books. I believe that it will appeal to the poor people just as directly as to the rich; and that they will wander, wondering perhaps, but interested and receptive, through its halls. Lastly, I believe that it will do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great Empire, and whose fusion has been so immeasurably enhanced by the example, the wisdom, and the influence of Queen Victoria.

TEMPERANCE

ARMY TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, SIMLA

A MEETING of the Army Temperance Association was held at Simla on June 6, 1901. The Viceroy presided, and thus addressed the meeting:—

I am glad to see so many officers and soldiers present here to-day, because, after all, the subject on which I am about to speak is one connected exclusively with the Army. At the same time, I am glad to see such a large attendance of the outside public, both because it shows an interest in the Army, and also because Temperance is a matter in which, independently of the particular profession to which we belong, we all of us ought to feel an interest. I propose to address this audience in as plain and simple language as I can command. There may be some, perhaps, who will say that I have no right to address you at all. In the first place, I am a civilian speaking to soldiers who may be supposed to know their own business much better than any outsider can teach them. Secondly, I am a non-abstainer speaking on behalf of a society whose main principle is that of total abstinence. And yet, on both points, I think that I have a good answer to give. Under the law which regulates the Government of this country, the supreme authority over the Army in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council; and the Governor-General in Council is, as you know, the rather imposing name that is given to a small number of distinguished gentle-

men, over whose proceedings and deliberations, I, as Viceroy, have the honour to preside. I conceive, therefore, that there is no one, except perhaps the Commander-in-Chief, who has a greater right to be interested in the reputation and honour of the Army—and believe me, its reputation is bound up in its sobriety—than the head of the Government. Everything that concerns its moral character, its discipline, and that which is the result of these two, namely, its efficiency, must be a vital interest to those who are connected with the administration of this great country: and I would not give much for a Viceroy who, because he was not a soldier himself, therefore dismissed the Army, or the welfare of the Army, as beneath his concern.

On the second point, as to whether a non-abstainer has any right to advocate temperance, I have even less hesitation in pronouncing. Temperance, in the strict meaning of the term, he is the very man best qualified to advocate; since he is only preaching what he endeavours to practise. But where then, you may say, does total abstinence come in, and how can he get up and speak on behalf of a society which urges its members to take the pledge? Well, I think that I can answer that too. Why does the Army Temperance Association urge its members, or, at any rate, the bulk of its members, to sign the pledge of total abstinence? It is because it knows very well that for the class of man to whom it appeals total abstinence is the only road, or, at any rate, the shortest and straightest road, to temperance. This is true of the young soldier fresh out from home, ignorant of the life and the temptations of this country, whom the Association endeavours to capture before he has yielded to pernicious example, and has gone astray. It is true of the confirmed toper who can only be converted to sobriety by a violent physical and moral wrench. It is useless to take the drunkard and ask him to go back by easy stages of moderate drinking to self-discipline and self-control. He is powerless to do it. A man cannot suddenly begin to do in moderation that which he is

accustomed to do in excess. If he is to be wrested from his bad habits, it can only be by a determination to put the evil thing from him, not, so to speak, in pints or in driblets, but altogether. That is why the pledge is a necessary thing for him. And, thirdly, there is the man of high character, himself either free from temptation or having conquered it, who feels that he can better set an example to his comrades by taking the pledge himself. For all these classes total abstinence is the best, and for some the only available, prescription; and so it is that a man who does not practise it himself, because in the conditions of his life he has not found the need, may yet with perfect consistency stand up and plead its cause to his fellow-countrymen.

Before I turn to the question of drinking in the Army, I should like to say one word about the position of the British soldier in India. I daresay that there are some soldiers who think that the conditions of their life are imperfectly understood by civilians, and that insufficient allowance is made for their circumstances and surroundings. I do not think that this is at all widely the case. I realise as fully as it is possible to do that the British soldier does not always have a good time of it in this country. He is in a climate very different from that to which he is accustomed, and, in the plains in summer, exceedingly trying. He is often in a very confined locality. He has not the fun, and games, and amusements, and society, to which he is accustomed at home. There is apt to be a good deal of monotony about his life. He lives perhaps in stuffy and ill-lighted barracks, where on the hot nights he can scarcely get a breath of air. If he leaves the lines there is nothing but the native bazar with its low temptations to attract him. I make, and I think that we should all make, full allowance for these conditions. They are partly responsible for the drinking and the other wrong deeds that occur. For my own part, I would like to alleviate them to the best of my power. There is no subject in which I have taken greater interest, since I have been in India, than

in that of the improved ventilation and lighting of barracks. I have insisted on forcing it to the front, and in causing all sorts of experiments to be made. Sir Edwin Collen was strongly with me on the matter; and so, I have reason to know, are the present Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief. I look forward to the time, and am doing my best to hurry it on, when every barrack in India shall be lighted by electricity, and when the punkahs shall be pulled by the same motive power; and I believe that if this scheme were to cost half a crore of rupees or more, it would be money well laid out, in the improved health and contentment of the men, and in the diminution of one of the most frequent causes of collision between soldiers and natives.[1] It is from exactly the same point of view that I welcome the institution of the rooms and of the work of the Army Temperance Association. I have seen them at Deolali —where I must say they were so attractive as almost to tempt me to regret that I am not a soldier myself—and I have also seen them at other places on my tours. But I would like to see them made even brighter and more attractive than they are. I would like to wean men away from the perilous attractions of the canteen, with its flow of conversation, and jollity, and drink, all leading to excitement, and apt to culminate in excess, by providing them with something which is just as good for their appetites, much better for their morals, and incomparably superior for their health. I hope, therefore, to have shown you that the powers that be in India, to use a familiar phrase, do not turn a blind eye upon the British soldier in this country, but that they have his interest and welfare at heart.

Temperance or intemperance in the British Army—at whichever side of the shield you like to look—has passed through many phases. We remember the stories of the soldiers with whom the Duke of Wellington fought many of his great battles. There was not much temper-

[1] This policy has been accepted by the Government of India, and is being steadily carried into execution.

ance or sobriety among them. They were drawn from a low class of the population, and in those days the extraordinary and grotesque illusion prevailed—to which all subsequent experience has given the lie—that the hardest drinker was also the best fighting man. The Duke of Wellington as good as said so on many occasions, and he was always alternating between respect for the bravery of the men who won his battles and disgust at their vices. We have long ago got away from all that; and you have not had a single Commander of recent times who would not tell you that the hard-drinking soldier is not merely a moral disgrace, but a military danger. Read what Lord Roberts said about our men in South Africa. They were sober there by compulsion, perhaps, as well as by choice, for the drink was not to be had: and they comported themselves like heroes and gentlemen. It was only when they got back that Lord Roberts feared they would fall below the high standard that they had observed in the field, because of the temptations to drink that were pressed upon them at home. Accordingly, we have passed as I say into a phase of life, in which every one admits that the sober soldier is a better man than the intoxicated soldier, the moderate drinker than the hard-drinker, and I daresay the total abstainer the best of all. No one will deny that. But we cannot stop there. We have only got so far to an abstract admission; we must translate it into concrete fact. It is not the slightest use for any of us to indulge in these platonic aphorisms, and then to think that our work is over. It is no good for the speakers on this platform to say how much better the British Army is nowadays than it was in the days of Talavera or Waterloo, and to think that this is an end of the whole business, and that nothing more need be done. It is no good either for the soldiers from Jutogh or anywhere else to applaud the excellent sentiments to which we all treat them, and then to walk back and drown it all in a too liberal participation in the joys of the regimental canteen.

No, we have to face facts and not to delude ourselves either with sentiment or with figures; for if there is one thing that is sometimes capable of being even more fallacious than sentiment, it is figures. Therefore I decline to say that all is well, because at an earlier period of our history it was worse; and I refrain from quoting the statistics of crime, or the returns of the orderly room, lest I should be lulled into thinking that because they illustrate the growing advance of temperance, therefore the battle has been won. That is not the case. The crime returns are neither the sole test nor an infallible test, and the Commanding Officer who thinks that because he can show a clean sheet in this respect, there is no excessive drinking going on in his regiment, is often living in a fool's paradise. Let us recognise, and let this Society recognise, that, even if crimes resulting from drink diminish, as I hope and believe that they do, there are still far too many; that, if cases of "drunk and disorderly" are fewer, they ought to be fewer still; and that there are in every regiment a large number, too large a number, of men who take more than they should, who habitually drink hard, even if they are not convicted of intoxication, and who are constantly on the brink of success, even if they do not actually step over it.

I had some official figures given me the other day, which showed that in one British regiment in India, in the month of April last, where the total number of men, exclusive of patients in hospitals and members of this Association, was 380, the amount of beer consumed was nearly 130 hogsheads. Now this meant an average daily consumption of 2¾ quarts for every man; and when you remember that among the 380 must have been several men who only drank in moderation, you will see that there must have been a certain number in the regiment who drank much more than was good for them. These are the men, therefore, that this Association ought to try and get within its mesh. We want to stop not merely gross excess, leading to crime, but steady

drinking, leading to disordered faculties, and physical and moral decline. I believe that if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself would be judged by the sobriety of his regiment, and that a flourishing canteen fund would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, it would be a most excellent thing; and I respectfully present this suggestion, for what it is worth, to the Commander-in-Chief.

There is only one other point of view from which I desire to plead the cause of the Association, and to appeal to the officers and soldiers of the British Army in India. It is a wider, and, in my opinion, a higher standpoint. What, I would ask, are we all here for—every one of us, from the Viceroy at the head of the official hierarchy to the latest joined British private in barracks? We are not here to draw our pay, and do nothing, and have a good time. We are not here merely to wave the British flag. We are here because Providence has, before all the world, laid a solemn duty upon our shoulders; and that duty is to hold this country by justice, and righteousness, and good will, and to set an example to its people. You may say why should we set an example, and what example have we to set? Well, I daresay that we have much to learn as well as to teach. It would be arrogant to pretend the contrary. I feel myself that never a day of my life passes in India in which I do not absorb more than I can possibly give out. But we have come here with a civilisation, an education, and a morality which we are vain enough, without disparagement to others, to think the best that have ever been seen; and we have been placed, by the power that ordains all, in the seats of the mighty, with the fortunes and the future of this great continent in our hands. There never was such a responsibility. In the whole world there is no such duty. That is why it behoves every one of us, great or small, who belong to the British race in this country, to set an example. The man who sets a bad example is untrue to his own country. The man who sets a good

one is doing his duty by this. But how can the drunkard set an example, and what is the example that he sets? And what sort of example too is set by the officer who winks at drunkenness instead of treading it under foot? It is no answer to me to say that the native sometimes gets intoxicated in his way just as the British soldier does in his. One man's sin is not another man's excuse. Where are our boasted civilisation and our superior ethics if we cannot see that what is degrading in him is more degrading in us? If we are to measure our own responsibility by that of the millions whom we rule, what becomes of our right to rule and our mission? It is, therefore, officers and soldiers, not on mere grounds of abstract virtue, nor for the sake of the discipline and the reputation of the Army, nor even for your own individual good alone, that I have stood here this afternoon to plead the cause of temperance in the ranks; but because the British name in India is in your hands just as much as it is in mine, and because it rests with you, before God and your fellow-men, to preserve it from sully or reproach.

VALEDICTORY

DINNER GIVEN BY UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA

On September 30, 1905, the members of the United Service Club, Simla, entertained the Viceroy at a farewell dinner. The audience comprised the largest and most representative collection of Civil and Military Officers which had ever gathered together in the Club. In response to the toast of his health proposed by Mr. Hewett, President of the Club, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I desire to thank the members of this Club for the distinguished compliment that they have paid to me in inviting me to be their guest at this dinner to-night, and also for the large and, as I believe, unexampled numbers that have collected within this room to do me honour. I have listened with much gratitude, though not without a good deal of compunction, to the kind remarks that have fallen from the lips of the Chairman, Mr. Hewett. I feel it is my good fortune that the task of proposing my health on this parting occasion should have fallen to his hands. For in one capacity or another Mr. Hewett has been one of my foremost colleagues during the last seven years, and if he can speak, as he has done, of that which has been attempted and in part accomplished, the compliment is all the greater because of the man who utters it. There was one remark in Mr. Hewett's speech by which I could not fail to be personally touched, and that was the sentence in which he

spoke of Lady Curzon as my comrade. It is true that, in the arduous and, as he remarked, isolated position which the Viceroy of India is compelled to occupy, he is sustained by the solace of those who are nearest and dearest to him. In this way my work has been lightened by the influences that have always been at my side. The part which India fills in the memory and affections of Lady Curzon is not inferior to that which she occupies in my own; and when we have left this country my heart will not alone be left behind, but a considerable portion of hers will be here also.

I do not stand here to-night to discuss controversial topics. They will work out to their appointed issue by processes which we cannot discern—or at any rate cannot at present discern. History will write its verdict upon them with unerring pen, and we need not to-night anticipate the sentence. I stand here rather as one who has laboured and wrought amongst you to the best of his ability through these long and stirring years, and who rises for the last time to address the comrades who have shared his toil, and, if he has anywhere conquered, have enabled him to conquer. I cannot approach such a task without emotion, and I cannot feel sure of being able to discharge it with credit.

Mr. Hewett, as I have said, referred to the position of peculiar isolation in which the Viceroy stands. I prefer rather in what I have to say to-night to turn my attention to those aspects of his work which bring him into contact with others. The relation of the Viceroy to the Services in India is one of a peculiar and unexampled description. He is over them, but not of them. He is not attached to them, as a party politician in England is to his party, by the ties of long fellow service in a common cause. His link with them is one of official rank, not of personal identity, and it is limited to a few years at the most, instead of being spread over a lifetime. He is almost invariably, from the nature of the case, a stranger brought out from England, and placed for a short time in supreme charge. I have always thought it

a remarkable thing in these circumstances, and a proof of the loyalty and devotion to duty which is the instinct of Englishmen—that the Indian services should extend to the Viceroy the fidelity and the support which they do.

In my own case my feeling for the Indian Services was formed and was stated many years before I came to this country as Viceroy, and I cannot be suspected therefore of any afterthought in declaring it now. When I brought out my book about Persia more than thirteen years ago—having written it in the main in the interests of Indian defence—I dedicated it to the Civil and Military Services in India, and on the title-page I spoke about them in language which represented my profound conviction then, and represents it still. You may imagine, therefore, with what pride I found myself placed at the head of those services seven years ago, and given the opportunity of co-operating for great ends with such strenuous and expert allies. It will always, I think, remain the greatest recollection of my public life that for this not inconsiderable period I was permitted to preside over the most efficient and the most high-minded public service which I believe to exist in the world.

Our official generations in India move so quickly, particularly in the higher ranks, that a Viceroy who has been here for seven years ends by finding himself the *doyen* of the official hierarchy, and feels that he is old almost before he has ceased to be young. Such has been my own experience. Though the Viceroy has only six colleagues in his Cabinet or Council, lately raised to seven, the normal duration of whose office is five years, I have served with no fewer than twenty councillors in my time. In the ten local Governments, I have co-operated with nearly thirty Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners. Perhaps, therefore, I may claim an exceptional right to speak. It does indeed seem to me a remarkable thing that work pursued under the conditions of pressure which have characterised our recent activities, and with responsible agents so varied, so important, and so numerous, should

have been carried on with so much smoothness and good feeling, and, if I may speak for the treatment which I have personally received, with such generous consideration and warmth of personal regard. I venture to assert, not as a boast or as a compliment, but as a fact, that there has never been a time when the relations between the Supreme Government and the heads of the local Governments have been so free from friction or so harmonious. In old volumes of our Proceedings, which it has been my duty to study at midnight hours, I have sometimes come across peppery letters or indignant remonstrances, and have seen the spectacle of infuriated proconsuls strutting up and down the stage. We now live, not in the Iron or Stone Age, when implements of this description were at any rate figuratively in constant use, but in the age of Milk and Honey, when we all sit down together to devour the grapes of Eshcol, by which I mean the surpluses that are provided for us by the Finance Department. Even that department has ceased to be a nightmare to the good as well as a terror to the evil, and has assumed an urbanity in harmony with the spirit of the time. No doubt these results are partially due, as I have hinted, to the more prosperous circumstances through which we have been passing, and to the greater devolution of financial responsibility upon local Governments that we have carried out. But they also reflect a positive desire on our part to be everywhere on the best of terms with the local Governments and their heads, and to avoid nagging interference and petty overruling: and they have everywhere been met by loyalty and a friendly co-operation on their part which I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge, and which have made the relations between the Viceroy and the Governors and the Lieutenant-Governors with whom he has served one of the most agreeable episodes of my term of office.

I am not one of those who hold the view that local Governments are hampered in their administration by excessive centralisation or that any great measures of

devolution would produce better results. In so far as there has been centralisation in the past it has been in the main because, under the quinquennial contract system, the local Government had not the means with which to extend themselves, and there cannot be much autonomy where there are not financial resources. Now that we have substituted permanent agreements for the terminable financial agreements, and have placed the local Governments in funds, they can proceed with internal development with as much freedom as can be desired. I am not in favour of removing altogether or even of slackening the central control: for I believe that with due allowance for the astonishing diversity of local conditions, it is essential that there should be certain uniform principles running through our entire administration, and that nothing could be worse either for India or for British dominion in India than that the country should be split up into a number of separate and rival units, very much like the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Europe, where the independent factors are only held together by the nexus of a single crown. The various inquiries that have been conducted into administration in my time, notably into Education, Famine, Irrigation, and Police, have shown how easy it is for central principles to be forgotten, and for indifference at headquarters to breed apathy and want of system lower down. I believe therefore in a strong Government of India gathering into its own hand and controlling all the reins. But I would ride local Governments on the snaffle, and not on the curb; and I would do all in our power to consult their feelings, to enhance their dignity, and to stimulate their sense of responsibility and power. The head of a local Administration in India possesses great initiative and an authority which is scarcely understood out of India. Sometimes in the past these prerogatives have been used to develop dissension, and the Supreme Government has, as I am told, scarcely been on speaking terms with some of its principal lieutenants. I have been lucky in escaping all such experiences; and every

Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner whom I have known has exerted himself with equal loyalty to conform to the general policy rather than to pursue his own.

This, however, is rather a digression into which I have wandered, and I must get back to my subject at the point at which I left it. Even more than with the heads of local Governments have I necessarily been brought into contact with my own colleagues in the Government of India. I speak primarily of the Members of Council, and secondarily of the Secretaries to Government. Never let it be forgotten that the Government of India is governed not by an individual but by a Committee. No important act can be taken without the assent of a majority of that Committee. In practice this cuts both ways. It is the tendency in India as elsewhere, but much more in India than anywhere else that I have known, to identify the acts of Government with the head of the administration. The Viceroy is constantly spoken of as though he and he alone were the Government. This is of course unjust to his colleagues, who are equally responsible with himself, and very often deserve the credit which he unfairly obtains. On the other hand, it is sometimes unfair to him; for he may have to bear the entire responsibility for administrative acts or policies which were participated in and perhaps originated by them. In these rather difficult circumstances, which perhaps work out on the whole in a fair equation, it is a consolation to me, to reflect—and this is the only Cabinet secret that I am going to divulge—that during my seven years of office, there has not been a single important question, whether of internal or external politics, in which the Government of India have not been absolutely unanimous, unless you except the last of all, where the unanimity was scarcely broken. I believe this to be unexampled in the history of Indian administration. In the previous records of Indian Government I have often come across sparring matches between the illustrious combatants, and contentious Minutes used to be fired off

like grape-shot at the head of the Secretary of State. I can only recall three occasions in which a Minute dissenting from the decision of the majority of the Council has been sent home in the whole of my time. I venture to think that with a Council representing so many different interests and points of view, this indicates a very remarkable and gratifying unity. Certainly it has not been purchased by any sacrifice of independent judgment. The Viceroy has no more weight in his Council than any individual member of it. What it does show is that the Government of India, in approaching the work of reconstruction and reform with which we have charged ourselves, has been inspired by a single spirit, and has pursued a common aim. I recall with pride that in every considerable undertaking we have been an absolutely united body, united not merely in identity of opinion but in a common enthusiasm; and on this parting occasion it may be permissible for me to say, both of the distinguished civilians and the eminent soldiers with whom it has been my privilege to serve, that I thank them with a gratitude which it would be impossible to exaggerate for a co-operation that has converted the years of toil into years of honourable pleasure, and that will always remain one of the happiest recollections of my life.

Then I turn to the Secretaries to Government, those faithful and monumental workers who dig in the mounds of the past and excavate the wisdom of our ancestors, who prepare our cases for us and write our official letters and despatches, and generally keep us all from going wrong. I have served with many Secretaries to Governments in my time, and I do not believe that in any administration in the world is the standard of trained intelligence or devotion to duty in the rank and class of service which they represent so uniformly high. My consolation in thinking of them is that a better reward than my poor thanks lies before them. As they gradually blossom into Chief Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors and Members of Council they will earn

the fuller recognition to which they are entitled, and in my retirement I shall for years to come have the pleasure of seeing the higher posts of Indian administration filled by men with whom I have been privileged to work, and of whose capacity for the most responsible office I have had such abundant opportunity to convince myself. Some paper at home said the other day that I had not founded a school. There was no need to do that, for it was here already. But I have assisted to train one, and if the tests have sometimes been rather exacting, I may perhaps say in self-defence that I have never imposed upon others a burden which I was not willing to accept myself.

What I have said of Members and Secretaries is not less true of the officers who have served under them in the Departments of Government. When I came to Simla I observed that I regarded this place as the workshop of the administration, and such indeed during the last few years I believe that it has truly been. It was Burke who remarked in one of his speeches that there is one sight that is never seen in India, and that is the grey head of an Englishman. As I look about me I begin to think that we must live in a rather different and degenerate age, and I am not sure that a certain guilty consciousness does not steal over my mind. I must confess that I have heard it whispered that Simla has acquired in recent times an unenviable reputation for staidness and sobriety, and I believe that invidious epithets have even been applied to the hospitable and once light-hearted institution in which I am now privileged to be entertained. Must I offer an apology for this alleged falling off from the standards of the past? No, I do nothing of the sort. I do not allow for a moment that we have pursued duty at the cost of the amenities of life. I most certainly have not done so. We have all had our hours of gaiety and ease at Simla, and very pleasant they have been. But we have certainly set work before play; we have spent more time in school than out of it; and for my own part I believe that an incalculable benefit has been conferred upon the entire service by the

example of those public servants who used to be accused of idling away their time in the hills, but who now make up for the refreshing altitude at which they labour by the arduous and unremitting character of the labour itself. We have finally killed the fallacy, perhaps never true at all, and certainly least of all true now, that the summer capital of Government is a place where it is all summer and not much government; and if a Royal Commission were sent round to investigate the factories of the Empire, I should await with perfect equanimity the place that Simla would occupy in its report.

There is one error against which I think that we ought very particularly to be on our guard. I should not like any of us, because we happen to be at the headquarters of Government, to delude ourselves into thinking that we are the only people or even the principal people who run the Indian machine. It would be quite untrue. India may be governed from Simla or Calcutta; but it is administered from the plains. We may issue the orders and correct the mistakes; but the rank and file of the Army are elsewhere, and if we make the plans of battle, they fight them. Let me not forfeit this opportunity of expressing my feelings towards the entire Civil Service of India for the loyal co-operation that I have received from them. At the beginning I believe that they thought me rather a disturbing element in the economy of Indian official existence. But when they saw that my interests were their interests and theirs mine—because there is no one who is so much benefited by increased efficiency in administration as the administrator himself—they gave me every assistance in their power; and no one is more sincerely conscious than myself that if success has anywhere been obtained it has not been in the Secretariat alone but in the District Office, in the Court, and I would even add in the fields. What is the secret of success in the Indian services, civil and military alike? It lies, not in systems or rules, not even exclusively in training or education. It consists in the man. If

revenue assessments are to be fair and equitable to the people, it will not be because of the Resolutions which the Government of India have issued to regulate them, but because a sympathetic Settlement Officer has been sent to carry them out. If one division or district is discontented and another tranquil, it will usually be because one has the wrong man at the head and the other the right one. If one young Chief degenerates into extravagance or dissipation, while another develops into a statesman and a ruler of men, it will probably be found that the former has had a weak Political Officer or an incompetent tutor, while the other has been in strong and capable hands. If one regiment is efficient, while another is soft or has a bad record, look to the Commanding Officer, and you will commonly find the clue. Therefore I say in India, as elsewhere, but most of all in India,—Give me the man, the best that England can produce, the best that India can train. To every head of an Indian Administration, to every chief of an office, I would say: Pick out the best men; run them to the front; give them their chance. That is the whole secret of administration. I have said a hundred times, and I say it again, that there is no service in the world where ability and character—and character quite as much as ability—are more sure of their reward than the Indian service. Nothing can keep them down, for they are the pivot and fulcrum of our rule. So long as we can continue to send to this country the pick of the youth of our own, so long as they are inspired by high standards of life and conduct, so long as each officer, civil or military, regards himself in his own sphere as the local custodian of British honour and the local representative of the British name, we are safe and India is safe also. For the good man makes other men good, the efficient officer spreads efficiency about him, and the sympathetic officer diffuses an atmosphere of loyalty and contentment.

Perhaps I may be allowed to interpolate a word in this place about the particular branch of the service of

which I have been more especially the head—I allude to the Political Department. The Viceroy, as taking the Foreign Office under his personal charge, has a greater responsibility for the officers of that Department than of any other. A good Political is a type of officer difficult to train. Indeed, training by itself will never produce him. For there are required in addition qualities of tact and flexibility, of moral fibre and gentlemanly bearing, which are an instinct rather than an acquisition. The public at large hardly realises what the Political may be called upon to do. At one moment he may be grinding in the Foreign Office, at another he may be required to stiffen the administration of a backward Native State, at a third he may be presiding over a *jirga* of unruly tribesmen on the frontier, at a fourth he may be demarcating a boundary amid the wilds of Tibet or the sands of Seistan. There is no more varied or responsible service in the world than the Political Department of the Government of India; and right well have I been served in it, from the mature and experienced officer who handles a Native Chief with velvet glove, to the young military political who packs up his trunk at a moment's notice and goes off to Arabia or Kurdistan. I commend the Political Department of the Government of India to all who like to know the splendid and varied work of which Englishmen are capable: and I hope that the time may never arise when it will cease to draw to itself the best abilities and the finest characters that the services in India can produce.

I have been speaking so far of the agents with whom I have been permitted to work. Let me add, if I may, a few words about the work itself. If I were asked to sum it up in a single word, I would say "Efficiency." That has been our gospel, the keynote of our administration. I remember once reading in a native newspaper which was attacking me very bitterly the sentence —"As for Lord Curzon, he cares for nothing but efficiency." Exactly, but I hardly think that when I am

gone this is an epitaph of which I need feel greatly ashamed. There were three respects in which a short experience taught me that a higher level of efficiency under our administration was demanded. The first was in the despatch of business. Our methods were very dignified, our procedure very elaborate and highly organised, but the pace was apt to be the reverse of speedy. I remember in my first year settling a case that had been pursuing the even tenour of its way without, as far as I could ascertain, exciting the surprise or ruffling the temper of an individual for sixty-one years. I drove my pen like a stiletto into its bosom. I buried it with exultation, and I almost danced upon the grave. I really think that not merely the new rules that we have adopted, but the new principles that are at work, have done a great deal to assist the despatch of business: and I hope that there may not be any backsliding or relapse in the future. It was one of John Lawrence's sayings that procrastination is the thief of efficiency as well as of time: and though I would not say that an administration is good in proportion to its pace, I would certainly say that it cannot be good if it is habitually and needlessly slow.

Our second object was the overhauling of our existing machinery, which had got rusty and had run down. There is scarcely a department of the Government or a branch of the Service which we have not during the last few years explored from top to bottom, improving the conditions of service, where they were obsolete or inadequate, formulating a definite programme of policy or action, and endeavouring to raise the standard and the tone. And, thirdly, we had to provide new machinery to enable India to grapple with new needs. Perhaps there is nothing which the public has shown so general an inability to understand as the fact that a new world of industry and enterprise and social and economic advance is dawning upon India. New continents and islands leap above the horizon as they did before the navigators of the Elizabethan age. But if I am right,

if agriculture and irrigation and commerce and industry have great and unknown futures before them, then Government, which in this country is nearly everything, must be ready with the appliances to enable it to shape and to direct these new forms of expansion. You cannot administer India according to modern standards, but on the old lines. Some people talk as though, when we create new departments and posts, we are merely adding to the burden of Government. No, we are doing nothing of the sort. The burden of Government is being added to by tendencies and forces outside of ourselves which we are powerless to resist, but not powerless to control. We are merely providing the mechanism to cope with it. Of course we must not be blind to the consideration that progress is not a mere matter of machinery alone — and that life and the organisation of life are very different things. There is always a danger of converting an efficient staff into a bureaucracy, and, while perfecting the instruments, of ignoring the free play of natural forces. Against that tendency I would implore all those who are engaged in work in India to be peculiarly on their guard. For it may be said of reforms everywhere, and here perhaps most of all, that that which is contrary to nature is doomed to perish, and that which is organic will alone survive.

I am afraid, however, that I am becoming too philosophic for the dinner table. I will revert to the concrete. Of the actual schemes that we have undertaken with the objects that I have attempted to describe, I will say nothing here. You know them as well as I do. You are the joint authors of many of them. Time alone will show whether they have been the offspring of a premature and feverish energy, or whether they will have taken root and will endure. My colleagues and I desire no other or fairer test. In some cases it is already in operation, sifting the good from the bad, and giving glimpses of the possible verdict of the future. I will only take one instance, because it is familiar to you all,

and because there may be officers here present who were originally doubtful about the wisdom or propriety of the change. I speak of the creation of the North-West Frontier Province, which was carved out of the Punjab more than four years ago. You will all remember the outcries of the prophets of evil. It was going to inflict an irreparable wound upon the prestige of the Punjab Government. It was to overwhelm the Foreign Department with tiresome work. It was to encourage ambitious officers to gasconade upon the frontier. It was the symbol of a forward and Jingo policy, and would speedily plunge us in another Tirah campaign. We do not hear so much of these prophecies now. I venture to assert that there is not an officer here present, from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab downwards, who would go back upon the decision of 1901. It has given peace and contentment upon the border, and has substituted the prompt despatch of frontier cases for endless perambulations and delays. But the creation of the Frontier Province did not stand by itself. It was merely one symptom of a Frontier policy which we have been pursuing quietly but firmly for seven years. I will utter no prophecy to-night and will indulge in no boast. I am content with the simple facts that for seven years we have not had a single frontier expedition, the only seven years of which this can be said since the frontier passed into British hands; and that, whereas in the five years 1894-1899 the Indian taxpayer had to find 4½ million pounds sterling for frontier warfare, the total cost of military operations on the entire North-West Frontier in the last seven years has only been £248,000, and that was for the semi-pacific operation of the Mahsud blockade.

And now I must not detain you further. This is one of the last speeches that I shall be called upon to make in India, and I have made it through you who are present here to-night to the Services which I have captained and which I have been privileged to lead. We have worked together in good report and in evil report.

India is in some respects a hard task-master. She takes her toll of health and spirits and endurance and strength. A man's love for the country is apt sometimes to be soured by calumny, his passion for work to be checked by the many obstacles to be encountered, his conception of duty to be chilled by disappointment or delay. Such have sometimes been my own feelings. Such, I daresay, have often been the feelings of those whom I am addressing. But this is only an ephemeral depression. When it comes upon us let us cast it off, for it is not the real sentiment of Indian service. As the time comes for us to go, we obtain a clearer perspective. It is like a sunset in the hills after the rains. The valleys are wrapped in sombre shadows, but the hill-tops stand out sharp and clear.

We look back upon our Indian career, be it long, as it has been or will be in the case of many who are here to-night, or relatively short as in mine, and we feel that we can never have such a life again, so crowded with opportunity, so instinct with duty, so touched with romance. We forget the rebuffs and the mortification; we are indifferent to the slander and the pain. Perhaps if we forget these, others will equally forget our short-comings and mistakes. We remember only the noble cause for which we have worked together, the principles of truth and justice and righteousness for which we have contended, and the good, be it ever so little, that we have done. India becomes the lodestar of our memories as she has hitherto been of our duty. For us she can never again be the "Land of Regrets."

ADDRESS FROM CLERKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, SIMLA

On October 13, 1905, the Viceroy received a farewell Address from the ministerial establishments of the Government of India at Simla. Practically the whole body of clerks, several hundreds in number, the majority of them Natives, were present. The Viceroy replied as follows to the Address:—

Among the many hundreds of expressions of compliment and regard that have reached me from all classes of the community during the past few weeks, there is not one to which I attach a higher value than the tribute which is now offered to me by yourselves as the representatives of the ministerial establishments of Government, or what are often generically described as the European and Native clerks. The tribute is the more affecting and valuable in my eyes because, as you tell me in your Address, it is unprecedented in the annals of your Service, and because I have the best of reasons for knowing that it springs spontaneously from the heart of those who tender it. Every man who vacates an office, however great, in which he has been placed above his fellow-creatures, likes to think that if regret is anywhere felt at his departure, it is not confined to those in high place or station only, but is shared by the much larger number to whom fortune has assigned a lowlier, though not necessarily a less responsible, position in his surroundings.

Ever since I came to India my heart has been drawn towards the subordinate officers of our Government. In the first place it seemed to me that they were a most industrious and painstaking body of men, labouring for long hours at a task which, though it tends to become mechanical, is very far from being lifeless, but demands qualities of diligence and accuracy and honesty of no mean order. I have often remarked that the best Indian clerk is, in my opinion, the best clerk in the world, for he

is very faithful to detail, and very unsparing of himself. Secondly, I observed that many members of the class to which I am referring are obliged to serve the Government at a distance from their homes, sometimes in places that are uncongenial and expensive, and that their work is apt to be pursued amid rather monotonous and depressing surroundings. And thirdly, I found after a little experience, not merely that these classes were rather forlorn and friendless, but that there was a tendency, when they made mistakes or were guilty of offences, to be somewhat hard upon them, and on occasions to hustle them out of employment or pension upon hasty and inadequate grounds.

I set myself, therefore, to try to understand the position, and, if possible, to alleviate the lot, of the classes of whom I have been speaking; and the new rules which we have passed or systems that we have introduced about the abolition of fining in the departments of Government, the observance of public holidays, the leave rules of the subordinate Services, the rank and pay of the higher grades among them, and the allowances and pensionary prospects of all classes—have, I hope, done a good deal to mitigate some of the hardships that have been felt, and to place them in a more assured and comfortable position in the future. It was on similar grounds that I pressed for the appointment of the committee to deal with Simla allowances; and although I do not know if it will be possible for me to pass final orders upon the subject before I go, yet the main thing is that the question has been seriously investigated and cannot now be dropped.

Personally, I have taken, if possible, an even warmer interest in the opportunities that have presented themselves to me of investigating memorials and grievances, and now and then of rescuing individuals from excessive punishment or undeserved disgrace. You know, for I have often stated it in public, the feelings that I hold about the standards of British rule in this country. We are here before everything else to give justice: and a

single act of injustice is, in my view, a greater stain upon our rule than much larger errors of policy or judgment. I have sometimes thought that in dealing with subordinates, and particularly Native subordinates, there is a tendency to be rather peremptory in our methods and to visit transgression, or suspected transgression, with the maximum of severity. For flagrant misconduct, whether among high or low, European or Native, I have never felt a ray of sympathy. But I have always thought that a small man whose whole fortune and livelihood were at stake deserved just as much consideration for his case, if not more so, than a big man, and that we ought to be very slow to inflict a sentence of ruin unless the proof were very strong. The most striking case in the history of the world of mercy in high places is that of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, who was assassinated. He was sometimes condemned for it at the time, but it is one of his glories in history. A Viceroy of India has no such opportunities as occur to the head of a great Government at a time of civil war. But yet as the final court of appeal on every case, great or small, amid the vast population of India, he has chances that occur to but few. I think that he ought to take them. I have tried to do so. I can recall long night hours spent in the effort to unravel some tangled case of alleged misconduct resulting in the dismissal of a poor unknown Native subordinate. Perhaps those hours have not been the worst spent of my time in India, and the simple letters of gratitude from the score or more of humble individuals whom I have thus saved from ruin have been equally precious in my eyes with the resolutions of public bodies or the compliments of Princes.

You may be sure that in bidding you farewell, I do not forget the faithful though silent services that you have rendered to me. Far down below at the bottom of the pit you have striven and toiled, sending up to the surface the proceeds of your labour, which others then manipulate and convert to the public use.

I hope that Government will always be considerate to

you and mindful of your services. For my own part it will remain one of my pleasantest recollections, that I was able during my time in India to show you some practical sympathy, and that you came forward of your own accord at the end to testify your recognition.

DINNER GIVEN BY BYCULLA CLUB, BOMBAY

On November 16, 1905, two days before the Viceroy left India, he was entertained at a farewell banquet by the members of the Byculla Club, Bombay. The dinner was the largest ever given on the Club premises. The Hon. Mr. Leslie Crawford, President of the Club, proposed the toast of the evening, and Lord Curzon replied as follows:—

Three times has the Byculla Club honoured me with an invitation to dinner. The first occasion was when I was leaving India at the end of my first term of office in April 1904. The second was when I returned to India for my second term in December 1904; and this is the third, when I am finally departing. I have esteemed this triple compliment most highly. For ordinarily Bombay does not see or know much of the Viceroy except what it reads in the newspapers—which is not perhaps uniformly favourable; and, with a Governor of your own, you cannot be expected to take as much interest in the head of the Supreme Government as other communities or places with which he is brought into more frequent contact. In respect of Bombay, however, I have been unusually fortunate in my time; for apart from the four occasions of arrival or departure, I have been here once in Lord Sandhurst's, and once in Lord Northcote's time, and again a week ago, so that this is my seventh visit in seven years. Here I made my first speech on Indian shores, and here it is not unfitting that I should make my last. Calcutta did me the honour of inviting me to a parting banquet, and so did the Civil

Service of Bengal; and I was greatly touched by those compliments. But I felt that, having accepted your invitation, I owed a duty to you, and that I should only become a nuisance if I allowed myself either the luxury or the regret of too many farewells.

It is no exaggeration to say that my several visits to this city have given me an unusual interest in its fortunes. I have seen it in prosperity and I have seen it in suffering; and I have always been greatly struck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds. Bombay possesses an exceptional number of public-spirited citizens, and the sense of civic duty is as highly developed as in any great city that I know. If there is a big movement afoot, you bend yourself to it with a powerful and concentrated will, and a united Bombay is not a force to be gainsaid. Let me give as an illustration the magnificent success of your reception and entertainment of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Moreover, you have the advantage of one of the best conducted and ablest newspapers in Asia.[1] My recollections of Bombay are also those of uniform kindness towards myself, a kindness which has found active expression on each occasion that I have visited the city, and that has culminated to-night in this splendid entertainment and in the reception that you have just accorded to my health.

As to the speech of the Chairman, to which we listened just now, I hardly feel that I know what I ought to say. He seemed to me to be so familiar with all the details of my administration that I felt that if I ever wanted a biographer it is to Bombay and to the Byculla Club that I must come to find him. But his account of what I have done—or perhaps I should rather say endeavoured to do—was characterised by so generous an insistence on the best that I almost felt that a rival orator should be engaged to get up and paint the opposite side of the picture. I know of several who

[1] The *Times of India*.

would have been prepared without a gratuity to undertake the congenial task—only in that case I should not perhaps have enjoyed the hospitality of this harmonious gathering. I must therefore leave things as they are, and content myself with thanking the Chairman for his great and undeserved leniency in his treatment of the subject of his toast. Gentlemen, I have thus endeavoured to express my acknowledgments of your kindness, and I must include in these acknowledgments those of Lady Curzon. Your gracious reference to her presence greatly touched my heart.

May I also take this opportunity through you of thanking all those communities and persons who, from all parts of India, have, during the past three months, showered upon me expressions of esteem and regret. I think I am justified in assuming, both from the quarters from which they have emanated and also from the language employed, that these have not been merely conventional expressions. From a departing Viceroy no one in India has anything more to ask or to expect; his sun is setting and another orb is rising above the horizon. If in these circumstances he receives, unexpected and unsought, from representative bodies and associations, from the leaders of races and communities, from princes, and from unknown humble men, such messages, couched in such unaffected language, as have crowded in upon me, while he cannot but feel very grateful for all this kindness, there may also steal into his mind the comforting reflection that he has not altogether laboured in vain, but has perhaps left some footprints that will not be washed out by the incoming tide.

It is almost seven years ago that I stood upon the neighbouring quay on the morning that I landed to take up my new office. Well do I remember the occasion and the scene; the Bunder gay with bunting and brilliant with colour; the background of the acclaiming streets with their tens of thousands, and the setting of the statelest panorama in Asia. I do not deny that to me

it was a very solemn moment. For I was coming here to take up the dream of my life and to translate into fact my highest aspirations. In that spirit I endeavoured to respond to the Address of the Corporation, and were I landing again to-morrow, I would use the same language again. Oceans seem now to roll between that day and this; oceans of incident and experience, of zest and achievement, of anxiety and suffering, of pleasure and pain. But as I stood there that morning and the vista spread out before me, I said that I came to India to hold the scales even:[1] and as I stand here to-night seven years later, I dare to say in all humility that I have done it—have held the scales even between all classes and all creeds—sometimes to my detriment, often at a cost that none but myself can tell, but with such truth and fidelity as in me lay. I further said that the time for judgment was not when a man puts on his armour, but when he takes it off. Even now I am fast unbuckling mine; in a few hours the last piece will have been laid aside. But, gentlemen, the test—can I survive my own test? The answer to that I must leave to you among many others, and by your verdict I am willing to abide.

When I came here seven years ago I had some idea, but not perhaps a very complete idea, of what the post of Viceroy of India is. Now that I am in a position to give a more matured opinion on the subject, I may proceed to throw a little light upon it. There are, I believe, many people at home who cherish the idea that the Viceroy in India is the representative of the Sovereign in much the same way as viceroys or governors-general in other parts of the British Empire, except that, India being in the East, it is considered wise to surround him with peculiar state and ceremonial, while in a country which is not a constitutional colony but a dependency, it is of course necessary to invest him with certain administrative powers. No conception of the Viceroy's position and duties could well be wider of the mark. Certainly the proudest and most honourable of his functions is to

[1] *Vide* vol. i. pp. 17 and 28.

act as representative of the Sovereign, and this act is invested with unusual solemnity and importance in a society organised like that of India upon the aristocratic basis, where the Throne is enveloped in an awe that is the offspring of centuries, and is supported by princely dynasties in many cases as old as itself. The consciousness of this responsibility should, I think, always operate both as a stimulus and as a check to the Viceroy—a stimulus to him to act in a manner worthy of the exalted station in which for a short time he is placed, and a check to keep him from inconsiderate or unworthy deeds. But that is of course only the beginning of the matter. The Viceroy very soon finds out that the purely viceregal aspect of his duties is the very least portion of them, and the court-life, in which he is commonly depicted by ignorant people as revelling, occupies only the place of a compulsory background in his everyday existence. He soon discovers that he is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly-organised governments in the world; for the Government of China, which is supposed to rule over a larger number of human beings, can certainly not be accused of a high level of either organisation or perfection. So much is the Viceroy the head of that Government that almost every act of his subordinates is attributed to him by public opinion; and if he is of an active and enterprising nature, a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshawar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta. This aspect of the Viceroy's position makes him the target of public criticism to a degree in excess, I think, of that known in any foreign country, except perhaps America. I think that in India this is sometimes carried too far. When the Viceroy speaks, he is supposed to remember only that he is the representative of the Sovereign. But when he is spoken or written about, it is commonly only as head of the administration; and then nothing is sometimes too bad for him. I only make these remarks because this seems to me rather a one-sided arrangement, and because I

think anything is to be deprecated that might deter your Viceroys from taking the supreme and active part in administration which it seems to me to be their duty to do. You do not want them to be *fainéants* or figure-heads. You want them to pull the stroke oar in the boat. You want English ministers to send you their very best men, and then you want to get out of them, not the correct performance of ceremonial duties, but the very best work of which their energies or experiences or abilities may render them capable. Anything therefore that may deter them from such a conception of their duties or confine them to the sterile pursuit of routine is, in my view, greatly to be deplored.

However, I am only yet at the beginning of my enumeration of the Viceroy's tale of bricks. He is the head, not merely of the whole Government, but also of the most arduous department of Government, viz. the Foreign Office. There he is in the exact position of an ordinary Member of Council, with the difference that the work of the Foreign Department is unusually responsible, and that it embraces three spheres of action so entirely different and requiring such an opposite equipment of principles and knowledge as the conduct of relations with the whole of the Native States of India, the management of the frontier provinces and handling of the frontier tribes, and the offering of advice to His Majesty's Government on practically the entire foreign policy of Asia, which mainly or wholly concerns Great Britain in its relation to India. But the Viceroy, though he is directly responsible for this one department, is scarcely less responsible for the remainder. He exercises over them a control which is, in my judgment, the secret of efficient administration. It is the counterpart of what used to exist in England, but has died out since the days of Sir Robert Peel—with consequences which cannot be too greatly deplored. I earnestly hope that the Viceroy in India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one man rule, which may or may not be a good

thing—that depends on the man. But it is one man supervision, which is the very best form of Government, presuming the man to be competent. The alternative in India is a bureaucracy, which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration.

To continue, the Viceroy is also the President of the Legislative Council, where he has to defend the policy of Government in speeches which are apt to be denounced as empty if they indulge in platitudes, and as undignified if they do not. He must have a financial policy, an agricultural policy, a famine policy, a plague policy, a railway policy, an educational policy, an industrial policy, a military policy. Everybody in the country who has a fad or a grievance—and how many are there without either—hunts him out. Every public servant who wants an increase of pay, allowances, or pension—a not inconsiderable band—appeals to him as the eye of justice; every one who thinks he deserves recognition, appeals to him as the fountain of honour. When he goes on tour he has to try to know nearly as much about local needs as the people who have lived there all their lives, and he has to refuse vain requests in a manner to make the people who asked them feel happier than they were before. When he meets the merchants he must know all about tea, sugar, indigo, jute, cotton, salt, and oil. He is not thought much of unless he can throw in some knowledge of shipping and customs. In some places electricity, steel and iron, and coal are required. For telegraphs he is supposed to have a special partiality; and he is liable to be attacked about the metric system. He must be equally prepared to discourse about labour in South Africa or labour in Assam. The connecting link between him and Municipalities is supplied by water and drains. He must be prepared to speak about everything, and often about nothing. He is expected to preserve temples, to keep the currency steady, to satisfy third-class passengers, to patronise race meetings, to make Bombay and Calcutta each think that it is the capital city of India, and to purify the police. He cor-

responds with all his lieutenants in every province, and it is his duty to keep in touch with every local Administration. If he does not reform everything that is wrong, he is told that he is doing too little; if he reforms anything at all, that he is doing too much.

I am sure that I could occupy quite another five minutes of your time in depicting the duties which you require of the Viceroy in India, and to which I might have added the agreeable *finale* of being entertained at complimentary banquets. But I have said enough perhaps to show that it is no light burden that I am now laying down, and that it is not perhaps surprising if seven years of it should prove enough for any average constitution. And yet I desire to say on this parting occasion that I regard the office of Viceroy of India, inconceivably laborious as it is, as the noblest office in the gift of the British Crown. I think the man who does not thrill upon receiving it with a sense not of foolish pride, but of grave responsibility, is not fit to be an Englishman. I believe that the man who holds it with devotion, and knows how to wield the power wisely and well, as so many great men in India have done, can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a larger number of his fellow-creatures than any head of an administration in the universe. I hold that England ought to send out to India to fill this great post the pick of her statesmen, and that it should be regarded as one of the supreme prizes of an Englishman's career. I deprecate any attempt, should it ever be made, to attenuate its influence, to diminish its privileges, or to lower its prestige. Should the day ever come when the Viceroy of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, who is required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, I think that the justification for the post would have ceased to exist. But I cannot believe that the administrative wisdom of my countrymen, which is very great, would ever tolerate so great a blunder.

And now after this little sketch of the duties of a Viceroy, you may expect to hear something of the manner of fulfilling them. I have been told that on the present occasion I am expected to give a sort of synopsis of the last seven years of administration. I am sure you will be intensely relieved to learn that I intend to disappoint those expectations. Lists of laws, or administrative acts, or executive policies, may properly figure in a budget speech; they may be recorded in an official minute; they may be grouped and weighed by the historian. But they are hardly the material for an after-dinner oration. Besides which I have been spared the necessity of any such review by the generous ability with which it has already been performed for me by the press.

Inasmuch, however, as all policy that is deserving of the name must rest upon certain principles, perhaps you will permit me to point out what are the main principles that have underlain everything to which I have set my hand in India. They are four in number. The first may sound very elementary, but it is in reality cardinal. It is the recognition that for every department of the State, and for every branch of the administration, there must be *a* policy instead of *no* policy, *i.e.* a method of treating the subject in question which is based upon accepted premises, either of reasoning or experience, and is laid down in clear language, understood by the officers who have to apply it, and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied. It is, in fact, the negation of a policy of drift.

Years ago I remember coming to India and commencing my studies of the Frontier question. I inquired of every one I met what was the frontier policy of the Government of India. I even mounted as high as members of Council. No one could tell me. I found one view at Calcutta, another at Lahore, another at Peshawar, and another at Quetta, and scores of intervening shades between. That is only an illustration; but that absence of a policy cost India thousands of lives and crores of rupees. Of course in our attempt to

fashion or to formulate policies my colleagues and I may not always have been successful—our policy need not have been uniformly right. We make no such claim. All that we say is that the policy is now there, not hidden away or enshrouded in hieroglyphics, but emphatically laid down, in most cases already given to the world, and in every case available for immediate use. There is not a single branch of the administration, internal or external, of which I believe that this cannot truthfully be said. I will give you a few illustrations drawn from spheres as widely separated as possible.

Take Foreign Affairs. The Government of India can hardly be described as having a foreign policy of their own, because our foreign relations must necessarily be co-ordinated with those of the Empire. But we can have our views and can state them for what they are worth; and there are certain countries in the close neighbourhood of our frontiers where the conduct of affairs is necessarily in our hands. Thus, in respect of Tibet, the Government of India have throughout had a most definite policy which has not perhaps been fully understood, because it has never been fully stated in published correspondence, but which I have not the slightest doubt will vindicate itself, and that before long. Similarly, with regard to Afghanistan, our policy throughout my term of office has been directed to clearing up all the doubts or misunderstandings that had arisen out of our different agreements with the late Amir, and to a renewal of those agreements, freed from such ambiguity, with his successor. It was to clear up these doubts that the Mission was sent to Kabul, as the Amir found himself unable to carry out his first intention to come down to India; and for all the widespread tales that the Mission had been sent to press roads or railroads or telegraphs and all sorts of unacceptable conditions upon the Amir, from which the Government of India or myself was alleged to have been only with difficulty restrained by a cautious Home Government, there was never one shred of foundation.

Perhaps in Persia, a subject which is perhaps better appreciated, and is certainly better written about in Bombay than in any other city of the Empire, we have been able to do most in respect of a positive and intelligible policy. Resting upon Lord Lansdowne's statesmanlike and invaluable dictum as to the Persian Gulf, from which I trust that no British Government will ever be so foolish as to recede, we have been able to pursue a definite course of action in defence of British interests at Muscat, Bahrein, Koweit, and throughout the Persian Gulf. The same applies to Mekran and Seistan, and I believe that I leave British interests in those quarters better safeguarded than they have ever before been. I will not trouble you further about foreign affairs to-night, though I might take you round the confines of the Indian Empire and show you an Aden boundary determined, largely owing to the ability of the officers serving under my noble friend, our relations with Sikkim and Bhutan greatly strengthened, and the final settlement of the Chino-Burmese boundary practically achieved.

Neither will I detain you about the tribal frontier of India, although the fact that I can dismiss this almost in a sentence is perhaps more eloquent than any speech could be. The point is that the Government of India, the local officers, and the tribesmen now know exactly what we are aiming at, namely, in so far as we are obliged to maintain order, to keep up communications, or to exert influence in the tribal area, to do it, not with British troops, but through the tribes themselves. The other day I saw the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, and asked him if he could sum up the position of the frontier. "Yes," he replied, "I can, in a single word, and that is 'Confidence.'" Confidence at Hunza, confidence at Chitral, which when I came out to India I was told by the pundits at home that I should have to evacuate in a year, but which is now as tranquil as the compound of the Byculla Club, confidence in the Khyber and the Kurram, confidence all

down the frontier of Baluchistan. That is no mean boast. I observe that all the people who have for years depicted me as a somewhat dangerous person, and who were kind enough to warn India seven years ago of the terrible frontier convulsions that she was in for under my rule, have found it a little difficult to account for the seven years' peace that has settled down on the land. Two explanations have, however, lately been forthcoming. The first is that the tribes were so severely handled by my predecessor that they have not had a kick in them left for me. The second is that having concentrated all my unholy propensities in the direction of Tibet, where, however, for some unexplained reason I did not begin until I had been in India for four years, I had nothing left for the tribes. I do not think that I need be disturbed by either of these criticisms. I can hand over the frontier to my successor, with the happy assurance not only that matters are quiet, but that the principles determining our action, whether as regards tribal militia, or border military police, or frontier roads and railways, or tribal control, are all clearly laid down, and are understood. If these principles are departed from, if the Government of India were to go in for a policy of cupidity or adventure, then the confidence of which I have spoken would not last a month. Otherwise I do not see why it should not be enduring.

We have also for seven years pursued a very consistent military policy, not differing therein in the least from the distinguished men who preceded us, but using the much larger opportunities that have been presented to us by recurring surpluses to carry out measures of which they often dreamed, but which they had not the funds to realise. I am not one of those who think that the Indian Army is a bad one. I believe it to be by far the best portion of the forces of the British Crown; and certainly such work as it has been my duty to ask it to undertake, whether in South Africa or China or Somaliland or Tibet, has been as good as any in the history of the Empire. We have done a good deal to render the

Indian Army, I will not say more efficient, but more effective. We have entirely re-armed every section of it. We have reorganised the horse and field artillery from top to bottom. We have created a new transport organisation, we are now making our own gunpowder, rifles, gun-carriages, and guns; we have added 500 British officers, and are proposing to add 350 more; we are doubling the Native Army reserves; and all these measures are independent of the schemes of reorganisation and redistribution of which you have heard so much. If due attention continues to be paid to the idiosyncrasies of the Native Army, and if it is treated sympathetically, I believe that we shall continue to receive from it the splendid level of service which is its tradition and its glory.

In the sphere of internal politics we have adopted a slightly different method, though with the same end, for there we have, as a rule, not framed our policy without a most exhaustive preliminary examination of the data upon which it ought to rest, conducted by the most expert authorities whose services we could command. Thus we did not proceed to draw up a plague policy until the Plague Commission had reported. Our new famine codes and manuals, the methods by which the Government of India will grapple with the next famine when it comes, and the preventive methods which we have been bringing into operation one by one, are the result of the Commission over which Sir Antony MacDonnell presided. The great programme of irrigation schemes for the whole of India to which we have committed ourselves, at a cost of 30 millions sterling in twenty years, was similarly not arrived at until Sir Colin Moncrieff's Commission had spent two winters in India. I did not undertake University reform until I had carefully sifted the facts of the case by a Commission upon which the highest authorities had seats. Nor did we charge ourselves with the reform of the police until we had conducted a most searching inquiry into the facts of existing administration in every province by Sir A.

Fraser's Commission. Finally, we did not propose to create a Railway Board or to revolutionise our railway management until we had obtained the advice of an expert from home. Thus, wherever possible, we have proceeded upon the same plan; firstly, the ascertainment from the information at our disposal, from the representations of the public, and from the known facts, that there was a case for reform; secondly, the appointment of an influential and representative body to go round the country and take evidence; thirdly, the critical examination of their report, accompanied by consultation of local Governments and of public opinion; fourthly, the accomplished reform. I remember very well—I daresay you do also, gentlemen—when the present administration was ridiculed as one of Commissions that were always sitting, but whose eggs never hatched out. I held my peace, but I sat all the harder. Time was all I wanted; and now, I can say that not a single Commission has sat and reported in my time without its results having been embodied with the least possible delay in administrative measures or in legislative acts. If you want to know the educational policy of Government, you can find it in the published Resolution of March 1904; I recapitulated it in a recent farewell speech at Simla. If you want to know our land revenue policy, it is similarly enunciated in two published Resolutions dealing with the principles of assessment and collection, which will presently be followed by two others dealing with subsidiary branches of the question. These will then be a *corpus* or code of land revenue law and policy, such as has never previously existed in India, and which will constitute a charter for the cultivating classes. If you want to know our fiscal policy, it is contained in the published despatch of October 1903. Thus, wherever you turn, I think you will find my claim justified—the case examined, the principles elucidated, the policy laid down, action taken, and already bearing fruit.

The second principle that I have held in view has been this. Amid the numerous races and creeds of

whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interests of each, to win the confidence of the Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education, and thus to increase the opportunities, of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, and Sikh, and to befriend those classes like the Eurasians who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own—my eye has always rested upon a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people.

> But thy poor endure
> And are with us yet ;
> Be thy name a sure
> Refuge for thy poor,
> Whom men's eyes forget.

It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget —to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities ; he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all ; he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country, by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled, from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income, he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard.

It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced the salt-tax, that we remitted land revenue in two years amounting to nearly 2½ millions sterling : for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created co-operative credit societies, so that he may acquire capital at easy rates,

and be saved from the usury of the money-lender. He is the man whom we desire to lift in the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian police, and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people, I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience, and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people; and I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs, and that I leave them better than I found them. As for the educated classes, I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions—more places on councils, and so on—I have in any way incurred their hostility. For I certainly in no wise return it; and when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy in the latter part of his term of office, I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways even as regards places and appointments I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so; and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance.

And yet in one respect I venture to think that the classes of whom I am speaking have found in me their best friend. For I have endeavoured to pursue with them the third principle of action to which I before alluded, viz. to be frank and outspoken, to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of the Government, to profit by public opinion, instead of ignoring it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have always held that Governors are servants of the public, and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition

and candid argument for all who care to hear. I cannot say that I have everywhere been rewarded for this confidence. But I have pursued it as part of a definite policy, for there has not been an act or an aim of Government whose sincerity I have not been prepared to vindicate, and to me there is something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence. And my last principle has been everywhere to look ahead; to scrutinise not merely the passing requirements of the hour, but the abiding needs of the country; and to build not for the present but for the future. I should say that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we do not sufficiently look ahead. We are so much absorbed in the toil of the day that we leave the morrow to take care of itself. But it is not to-morrow only, but twenty years hence, fifty years hence, and one hundred years hence. That is the thought that has never left my mind. I have had no ambition to cut Gordian knots or to win ephemeral triumphs. I am content that all my work should go that is not fitted to last. Some of it will go, of course. But I hope that a solid residuum may remain and take its place as a part of the organic growth of Indian politics and Indian society. To leave India permanently stronger and more prosperous, to have added to the elements of stability in the national existence, to have cut out some sources of impurity or corruption, to have made dispositions that will raise the level of administration not for a year or two but continuously, to have lifted the people a few grades in the scale of well-being, to have enabled the country or the Government better to confront the dangers or the vicissitudes of the future, that is the statesman's ambition. Whether he has attained it or not will perhaps not be known until long after he has disappeared.

I need say but few words about my resignation or the causes that led to it. I desire only to mention one cause that did not. It seems to have been thought in

some quarters at home that this was a personal quarrel, and that I resigned on personal grounds. No one who has the least acquaintance with the facts of the case, and I would fain hope no one who has any acquaintance with myself, could commit this error. The post of Viceroy of India is not one which any man fit to hold it would resign for any but the strongest reasons. When you remember that to me it was the dream of my childhood, the fulfilled ambition of my manhood, and my highest conception of duty to the State, when further you remember that I was filling it for the second time, a distinction which I valued much less for the compliment than for the opportunity afforded to me of completing the work to which I had given all the best of my life, you may judge whether I should be likely heedlessly or impulsively to lay it down. No, sir, there is not a man in this room who does not know that I resigned for a great principle, or rather for two great principles, firstly, the hitherto uncontested, the essential, and in the long run the indestructible subordination of military to civil authority in the administration of all well-conducted states, and, secondly, the payment of due and becoming regard to Indian authority in determining India's needs. I am making no vain boast when I say that in defending these principles as I have sought to do, and in sacrificing my position sooner than sacrifice them, I have behind me the whole of the Civil Services in India, the unanimous weight of non-official English opinion in this country, an overpowering preponderance of Indian opinion, and I will add, which is more significant still, the support of the greater part of the Indian Army. I have not one word to say in derogation of those who may hold opposite views; but, speaking for the last time as Viceroy of India, I am entitled to say why in a few hours I shall cease to be Viceroy of India; and I am also entitled to point out that in speaking for the last time as Viceroy of the country which I have administered for nearly seven years, I am speaking, as I believe that no single one of my predecessors has ever

been able to do to a similar extent, with the whole of that country behind me. And, Gentlemen, you may depend upon it, the principles have not vanished though they have momentarily disappeared. They will reappear, and that before very long.

It is a much pleasanter subject to turn from myself to the nobleman whose ship is hourly drawing nearer to these shores, and who the day after to-morrow will take over the task that I lay down.[1] It is a pleasure to me to be succeeded by a lifelong friend. But it is a much greater pleasure to know that India will gain a Viceroy of ripe experience, of a strong sense of duty, of sound judgment, and of great personal charm. I hope that the rough seas through which I have sometimes ridden may leave smooth water in which his keel may glide, and from the depth of my heart I wish him a tranquil and triumphant Viceroyalty.

And now, as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me, "Do you really love India?" I could not imagine if he was jesting. "Love India," I replied; "why otherwise should I have cut myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life, why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength, why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago, why should I have resigned my office sooner than see injury done to her now?" "Good," he said, "I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as every one else."

Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishman ever stepped on to the shores of India who had a more passionate devotion to the country than he who is now bidding it farewell. Nor will any Englishman ever have

[1] The Earl of Minto.

left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who after 200 years still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever, when such strange experiments are made by many whose knowledge of her does not extend beyond the fringe of her garment—of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have said, see or speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India. And in any case, it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character, and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies it will be a voice raised in the cause of imperial justice and fair dealing; and most of all of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away or sacrificed or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of Empire.

A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity." No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future

are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is gone. I have worked for no other aim. Let India be my judge.[1]

[1] This is the passage that elicited from the venerable Primate of Ireland (Archbishop Alexander) the remarkable Ode of welcome that appeared in the *Times* on the day of Lord Curzon's return to England, December 4, 1905, and from which the following is an extract :—

> So to our race in India full and strong
> Fell from thy lips that phrase no time outwears,
> "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated wrong"—
>
> Thus spake our great men of the olden time,
> Who grandly spoke, because they grandly thought—
> Whose spirit first, then speech, became sublime!
>
> Colossal brevity as by magic wrought,
> Catching the difficult ear of after time;
> Restraint—and not effusion—dearly bought.
>
> Now, when our politic armies in their place
> Stand clamouring by the fires along their line,
> Each battle sees the other's angry face.
>
> Come now with utterance of the men of old,
> Come thou, be judged of all this land of thine—
> Not with a pomp of colour and of gold;
>
> Thou who has instinct of a mighty work,
> Of the great utterance of the days gone by,
> Superb as Chatham, steadfast-souled as Burke.

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